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REIMAGINING THE VETERAN

AN INVESTIGATION INTO VIOLENT
VETERANS IN ENGLAND AND WALES POST
9/11

Emma Teresa Murray

Word Count: 84, 989

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of PhD in Criminology

March 2016

Keele University

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Abstract

Emma T. Murray¹, Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Criminology

Reimagining the Veteran: An investigation into violent veterans in England and Wales post 9/11

This thesis provides an original investigation into the status of violent veterans in the United Kingdom post 9/11. Drawing upon a series of interviews conducted during 2011-2014, it frames the problem through the focused lens of Veteranality. Veteranality is understood here to be the regulation and rehabilitation of veteran offenders within the criminal justice framework, with a conscious attempt to understand the limitations of governing regimes by foregrounding questions of political agency. It looks directly at the tensions and conflicts veteran offenders experience as they move from a war paradigm to one of criminal justice on domestic soil. Central here is the ethical decision to “give voice” to the veterans by allowing them to narrate their own experiences prior, during and after war, which proves crucial to the study. As violent veterans expose the limits of juridical approaches to their crimes, so they add further empirical weight to the claims that times of war and peace are less easily demarcated and set apart. Embodying the normalisation of violence in new security terrains, their testimonies present significant challenges and demand a thorough rethinking of the violence of warfare in the 21st Century.

Keywords:

Veteranality, Violence, Criminology, Conflict, Veterans, Post-War Deployment, Rehabilitation, Governance, Prison Reform

¹ See appendix 1 for author biography

Declaration

SUBMISSION OF THESIS FOR A RESEARCH DEGREE

Part I. DECLARATION by the candidate for a research degree. To be bound in the thesis

Degree for which thesis being submitted: Doctor of Philosophy in Criminology

Title of thesis: Re-imagining the veteran: An investigation into violent veterans in England and Wales post 9/11

This thesis contains confidential information and is subject to the protocol set down for the submission and examination of such a thesis.

YES/NO [please delete as appropriate; if YES the box in Part II should be completed]

Date of submission: 27/09/2015

Original registration date: 21/10/2010

(Date of submission must comply with Regulation 2D)

Name of candidate: Emma Teresa Murray

Research Institute: School of Sociology and Criminology, Keele University

Name of Lead Supervisor: Dr Barry Ryan

I certify that:

- (a) The thesis being submitted for examination is my own account of my own research
- (b) My research has been conducted ethically. Where relevant a letter from the approving body confirming that ethical approval has been given has been bound in the thesis as an Annex
- (c) The data and results presented are the genuine data and results actually obtained by me during the conduct of the research
- (d) Where I have drawn on the work, ideas and results of others this has been appropriately acknowledged in the thesis
- (e) Where any collaboration has taken place with one or more other researchers, I have included within an 'Acknowledgments' section in the thesis a clear statement of their contributions, in line with the relevant statement in the Code of Practice (see Note overleaf).
- (f) The greater portion of the work described in the thesis has been undertaken subsequent to my registration for the higher degree for which I am submitting for examination
- (g) Where part of the work described in the thesis has previously been incorporated in another thesis submitted by me for a higher degree (if any), this has been identified and acknowledged in the thesis
- (h) The thesis submitted is within the required word limit as specified in the Regulations

Total words in submitted thesis (including text and footnotes, but excluding references and appendices)

Signature of candidate: Emma Teresa Murray Date 25.02.16

A black and white photograph of a handwritten signature in cursive script, which appears to read 'E. Murray'.

Note

Extract from Code of Practice: If the research degree is set within a broader programme of work involving a group of investigators – particularly if this programme of work predates the candidate’s registration – the candidate should provide an explicit statement (in an ‘Acknowledgments’ section) of the respective roles of the candidate and these other individuals in relevant aspects of the work reported in the thesis. For example, it should make clear, where relevant, the candidate’s role in designing the study, developing data collection instruments, collecting primary data, analysing such data, and formulating conclusions from the analysis. Others involved in these aspects of the research should be named, and their contributions relative to that of the candidate should be specified (*this does not apply to the ordinary supervision, only if the supervisor or supervisory team has had greater than usual involvement*).

Acknowledgments

This thesis owes considerably to the support, encouragement and guidance of friends, family and colleagues to whom I am eternally grateful. Your informal chats and patience have improved the work considerably. I would like to express a special gratitude to my supervisors Dr. Barry Ryan and Prof. William Dixon to whom I owe an immeasurable intellectual debt.

Dr. Barry Ryan: I would like to extend that thanks, especially for your continual dedication to a criminological project that often went to uncomfortable places for you. I can honestly say that your theoretical teachings have been one of the most worthwhile and rewarding journeys of the many that constitute this thesis and my plans beyond it. I hope that your comments and suggestions have shaped me and will continue to encourage my approach in the future.

Prof. William Dixon: I would like to thank you for your invaluable support and tireless enthusiasm for the project; from inheriting me as a supervisee to remaining such an active voice in the final stages when you had moved to pastures new. Your warmth during the ups and the downs of the project and 'life' has made a difference beyond words. Lastly, thank you for helping me to find my way back each and every time I lost my way.

This thesis however would have not been possible without the participants of this study. With so many of you asking for nothing more than your voice heard I can only hope that the contents here and the discussions found in resulting publications do justice to your energy and aspirations for a better understanding of the violence of veterans and the

governance of it. Words however escape me of how to ever thank the gate keeper of the project, the late Alan Lilly.

Thank you to my colleagues at Liverpool John Moores, in particular the criminal justice team - you have all been wonderful. That thanks is also extended to my students old and new who have shown such enthusiasm for the ideas contained in this thesis. I would however like to express my timeless gratitude to Ester Ragonese especially (Liverpool John Moores), for your friendship, your inspiration and the faith you have shown in me before this project began and at every stage throughout it. A special thank you also to Dr. Matthew Millings (Liverpool John Moores University), without whom earlier explorations of this project would have not been possible; your acknowledgement and faith of the idea in its infancy and belief in my ability will never be forgotten.

I have been especially fortunate throughout this journey to have the intellectual encouragement and reassurance of Dr. Ross McGarry and Prof. Sandra Walklate (The University of Liverpool) and Dr. Brad Evans (The University of Bristol). Together your generosity, time and comments have inspired me to continue with the critical ambitions of this project. Ross, I would like to extend my sincerest thanks for your friendship throughout its duration.

I would also like to thank all of my friends who supported and incited me to strive towards my goal whilst there are too many to name a special gratitude to: Anne Rees, Gill Buck, Kayleigh Morgan, Angela McFadden, Robert Emerton, Rebecca Askew, Ian Mahoney, Clive Atherton, Jonathan Appleton and Corey Walker-Mortimer.

Lastly, but by no means least for the love and support of my family. We are a very large group and I thank you all with a special mention to Sarah and Steve Craven, Sean Murray

and Kevin and Julie Gorman. It is difficult to express how grateful I am to my mother and father for all of the sacrifices you have made on my behalf. Your unwavering pride, selflessness and sharing in sleepless nights have given me the resilience, purpose and ambition I have needed thus far. This is for you both.

Introduction

The need to re-imagine the British veteran in the 21st century?

Veterans occupy a special and at times privileged position in a Nations memory. As they continue to embody in life the dedication and sacrifice given to the defence and protection of nations, they provide a continued reminder of battles fought, often in the name of security and freedom (Jenkins, K.N & Woodward, R 2014; Woodward, R & Jenkins, 2014; 2012; 2011). This is particularly evident in the United Kingdom where since 2006 the Nation has officially observed “Armed Forces Day”, which developed upon the public success of Veterans Awareness Week in 2005. Indeed as the commemoration shifted its discourse from the focus just on veterans (it was officially called Veterans Awareness Day until 2009) to those who continue to be involved in active duty, so the past, present, and the future were connected in ways that merged the memory of those who have given the ultimate sacrifice in the past to those on active duty in theatres of war today, while enshrining the virtues of sacrifice for the wars yet to be fought (Murray 2016 a).

Whilst the images that emerge from the Armed Forces Day which, taking place in different locations each year, undoubtedly invoke a sense of pride (publically and individually) and sentimentality, it is remarkable how uniform each procession appears. They are in fact highly choreographed events in which various regiments and battalions parade in full public gaze, as notable attention is given to the continuum of service and the honours awarded in the field of battle. Veterans in particular appear in various forms of military dressage, adorning their medals, projecting the idea that a being a soldier is not simply a

vocation; it is an identity that the person continues to carry with them throughout their life. Being a veteran is simply a final stage in the life of the soldier.

Leaving aside here the evident political problems with bringing together in such celebrations all historical wars – as if, for example, the two Great Wars of the 20th Century could be easily conflated with the contemporary Wars on Terror in the public's imagination, one might rightly question the problems beyond the scope of these commemorative events, as the story of the veteran is much more complex and contradictory – their experience of being a veteran today is not the same. In some ways, these events serve to reinforce the narratives offered by charities such as the British Royal Legion, Help for Heroes and Combat Stress who increasingly use these occasions to remind the government and public of the hardships faced by a number of soldiers, from post-service readjustment onto conditions of life in retirement (British Legion 2012).

It is well-documented that veterans experience considerable problems after service (British Legion 2012; Howard League 2011; MacManus *et al* 2013; McGarry & Walklate 2011; Murray 2013, 2014a, 2014b; Treadwell 2010). From homelessness (StopWar 2014), depression, domestic abuse, alcoholism and drug addiction (Murray 2014a), more challenging representations of the “hero” who has seemingly fallen through the cracks have appeared in charitable campaigns, media stories and government debates (Lynn & Packham 2015; Napo 2008, 2009; Murray 2015). It is no coincidence to find the number of charitable organisations working on behalf of veterans having increased in number in recent times (there are now nearly 4000 – Charity Register 2015), some of which are committed to veterans welfare more generally (such as British Legion and SAFFA), whilst others offer more specialist services, which beyond the level of campaigning, points to

the emergence of new professional actors and agents who are dedicated to the welfare and care of veteran servicemen on more individual levels (Veterans Contact Point(s)).

Certainly in the policy documents, non-governmental organisation campaigns and publications, onto mainstream media stories, the dominant term used to explain the plight of veterans is Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). The term PTSD is now widely used and arguably resonates with the public's understanding, even if they are less aware of its scientific methods and explanations (Dandeker *et al* 2003; Fossey, 2010; Murray 2014a). Indeed, while a number of scholars have rightly illustrated how the term has much more protracted historical understanding (Finley 2011), it has undoubtedly been more apparent in its usage since the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq post-911. As the charity CombatStress explains, 'This increase is mainly accounted for by a marked rise in those who served in Iraq and Afghanistan seeking help'². While a number of explanations might be put forward for this, as the charity concerned here recognizes, PTSD cannot be separated from the changing nature of soldiering, drawing attention in particular to the increased pressures, demands and increase in number of tours of duty which eventually takes its toll on the mental health of those in service. We might also point here to both the professional and academic proliferation in "trauma studies" such that mental health issues appear less taboo and more open to honest and serious reflection. On top of this, as new media technologies such as 24-hour news broadcasting markedly change our understanding of the realities of war, the welfare of soldiers becomes an integral part of the narrative as they too appear in the media spotlight (Stahl 2010).

² <http://www.rt.com/uk/245525-veterans-ptsd-referrals-increase/>

There is however a more politically fraught and difficult problem that our society faces: namely, the aggressive and often extremely violent actions of former servicemen post-deployment (Howard League 2011a; 2011b; MacManus *et al* 2013). Whilst there has been an appreciation of the violent legacies of war in popular culture for some time, as Martin Scorsese's acclaimed *Taxi Driver* (1976) portrays, as do the more recent movies such as *Dead Mans Shoes* (2004), *Jarhead* (2005), *The Valley of Elah* (2007) *Brothers* (2009) and *America Sniper* (2015), there has been a historical stigma regarding attention on this problem at the level of government policy and public awareness campaigns. This all changed in 2008 with the publication of a report by The National Association of Probation Officers (NAPO), which acknowledged for the very first time the scale of the problem in terms of the ethical issues and custodial pressures it was exacting upon the criminal justice system. NAPO could only estimate how many former military personnel were actually serving sentences for violent crimes, as veterans then and now were not captured in national statistics. The findings of the report followed the familiar pattern in terms of its explanations:

'Most of the soldiers who had served in either the Gulf or Afghanistan were suffering from post-traumatic stress. Little support or counselling was available on discharge from the forces... Virtually all became involved in heavy drinking or drug taking and in consequence involvement in violence offences, sometimes domestically related, happened routinely'³.

³ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newstopics/onthefrontline/2651148/Thousands-of-war-veterans-locked-in-British-prisons.html>

Following widespread media attention, which garnered political support in terms of the perceived dereliction of state duty to the “military covenant” i.e. the guarantee that soldiers receive fair treatment in return for putting their lives on the line, a particular discourse started to emerge in which violent veteran offenders appeared more and more like a “special category” within the criminal justice system. Once a category has been identified they are considered in need of requiring innovative and specialist forms of treatment – as is the case for all groups identified by characteristics and not offending types (Gelsthrope 2014). This raised a number of initial and important questions: What did it mean to say that violent veterans were a specialist category within the criminal justice system? How were they currently being governed within the system, and what changes were being proposed in terms of their rehabilitation and welfare? What tensions did this create in terms of punishing the actual offence against seeing the offenders as victims to a process? And what was to be made of the prevailing understanding, which made sense of their crimes by overwhelmingly focusing attention on the issue of PTSD?

My interest into the violence of veteran offenders for this thesis starts at this point and I consider an understanding of the violence of veterans and conviction for that violence requires us to, ‘re-imagine’ the veteran identity. This forces us to consider a shift in these individuals’ identities from ‘national defender to ‘national offender’ (see below for fuller discussion of this shift). Already appreciative of the dominance of psychological explanations it was increasingly clear that the emerging field concerning the governance of violent veterans was under-researched in criminological literatures (see chapter two). Those studies who did address this such as the Howard League (2011) did not allow us to look specifically at veteran offenders as agents within this process (see chapter three). What is more, I was mindful that my position as a female researcher could actually be a

positive factor in the research rather than the barrier I had been warned about by the gatekeeper. Whilst gender did of course present some challenges - as this thesis will go on to demonstrate - it also appeared to elicit a different sort of narrative from veterans as they admitted giving considerable consideration to how they could explain this to a 'woman'. Veteran participants then largely refrained from very technical answers regarding the weaponry, the tools and equipment for battle and instead spoke of how they felt at different stages of their lives. It was my intention therefore to understand the governance of violent veterans by listening to their narratives, not by dismissing the emotional field or assigning all emotion to trauma, but investigating their experiences. From narratives containing early childhood memories through to the experience of war and subsequent imprisonment, new insight into the problem of violent veterans in the 21st Century is offered.

National Offenders to National Defenders

This study is both timely and relevant. At the same time as this project began, in 2010, James Treadwell (2010) offered a criminological voice to the media campaign that had been acknowledging the prevalence of young men with military experience who were subsequently sentenced for criminal acts post-deployment (Napo 2008; 2009). He states:

[T]he other casualties of war are, perhaps, those soldiers who return seemingly physically healthy after military service, and the unfortunate people who, at some unspecified point in the future become victims of their crimes. (Treadwell 2010: 73)

This awareness raising began in 2008, and since then the violence of war veterans in England and Wales⁴ has undoubtedly captured the imagination. In response, the social scientific community has engaged in research that interrogates this problematic (Treadwell, 2010; Howard League, 2011a, 2011b; Mac Manus & Wesley 2013; MacManus, et al., 2013), while the government and the prison estate have worked to provide reference guides for working with veterans sentenced in England and Wales (Lyne & Packham 2014; Nacro 2010). Together, their findings provide a series of tropes that fix the veteran as a new category of offender in need of governance and a *problem that must be solved*, before suggesting ways to rehabilitate him. Through this research dominant representations of veterans as an offending category are formed, which to date come to know the veteran in two clear ways: as violent (Howard League 2011a; McManus *et al* 2013) and as mentally impaired (Dandeker *et al* 2003; Iverson *et al* 2005a, 2005b). It is important to note at this stage that much of the research which informs policy on this issue adheres to the claim that military experience does not make an individual more likely to commit a criminal offence than their civilian counterparts, but that they are more likely to commit an offence that is violent in nature (Howard League 2011a; McManus *et al* 2013). Both thus appear interrelated, as veterans violence is understood largely as the product of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) (McGarry & Walklate 2011).

The prevailing discourse that has emerged provides ways of knowing the violent veteran then comes to know him through various measures of statistical designs and measures of post-conflict reintegration (Dandaker *et al* 2003; Greenberg *et al* 2011; Iverson *et al* 2005; Lifton, 1974; McManus *et al* 2013; Sherman 2010; van Staden *et al* 2007). In

⁴ Unless stated otherwise this project is based specifically on and refers only to the jurisdiction of England and Wales.

consequence, the largest part of this research makes sense of the complexity of the lived experience of the veteran who commits a crime by reducing it to a series of quantified probabilities that are amenable to prescribed correctional policy. In the absence of a national criminal justice policy for managing this group of offenders, criminal justice practitioners rely upon a series of awareness-raising reports and projects when devising initiatives in their area (Wentworth - James & Woods 2010; Howard League 2011; British Legion 2012). Although elements of these documents are qualitative in nature, the overall aim is still to encapsulate the veteran subject and ways to reform him. Inherent to this aim is the framing of the veteran as vulnerable and that their vulnerability is a direct result of how they have experienced war - thereby directing attentions to individual capacities, and often inabilities, to cope with memories and legacies of combat. While this is an important position that offers great insight into the lives of veterans post-deployment and methods in which to provide support there is a fundamental problem. A problem that arises from the sort of vulnerability proposed (that of the self) which divorces the occurrence of this violence from the politics of war as it plays out at systemic (the military) and individual (the veteran's themselves) levels. Further still, as the violence of veterans is ultimately reduced to questions of individual pathology, these approaches divorce the domestic criminal justice apparatus from international modes of political and criminal enquiry, which directly looks at violence in a broader and more complex setting (see chapter two).

At the same time as the violent veteran has been constructed as a problem for domestic governance (i.e. their conduct needs to be regulated within a regulatory setting for controlled rehabilitation), the criminology discipline has understood the need developed a more interdisciplinary approach to war. This is frequently referred to as the

'criminology of war' literature, a banner that was first advocated by Ruth Jamieson (1998). Whilst Jamieson's intervention wasn't the first time that criminologists had considered war in their theorising, as I will go on to explore in chapter two, it was nevertheless pivotal in laying some of the foundations for contemporary works. Jamieson urged students of crime to be more attentive to complexities of the "lived realities" of war, such that it became possible to connect war and crime in ways that allowed criminology to better address their interconnections. Since Jamieson's intervention, for instance, criminology has contributed more purposefully to understandings of this new security terrain by offering ways to rethink war and post war conditions (Bouffard 2005; Degenhardt 2010; Green and Ward 2009; Hudson 2009; Jamieson 1998; Kramer & Michalowski, 2005; Ruggerio 2005; 2006), along with the need to start re-imagining the veteran offender as a distinct political category (Mc Garry 2010; 2012; 2014; Mc Garry & Walklate 2011; Murray 2013; 2014b; Walklate *et al* 2014). Taking leave from rigid legalistic approaches, this body of work critically negotiates legal structures (Gearty 2005; Green & Ward 2009; Hudson 2009; Ruggerio 2005; 2007) and on occasion asks what a conceptual criminalisation of war might look like (Mandel 2004; Ruggerio 2005). The primary intention has been to question the relationship between crime and war, and as a consequence, realise the complexity of that relationship (see chapter two).

So what becomes of the violent veteran upon this literature? Indeed by extension, what could a distinctively criminological voice say about this violence if it were to untangle further its theorising from the legal framework? As two criminological problems continue to emerge – that of the violent veteran and that of war – there is yet to be developed a considered narrative which connects them in any rigorous and sustained way. This results in a limiting criminological understanding of the veteran as a criminal problem in

need of concentrated governance post-military deployment and post-conviction. As the knowledge of the violent veteran has emerged without reference to the state's role in the construction and subsequent management of the veteran offender as a political category, narratives are produced. Narratives which are effectively blinded to what Foucault (1969) termed 'subjugated knowledge' – the marginalised experiences that can be found through an investigation of how veterans see themselves in particular contexts. In this thesis, I intend to address these limitations and in turn make an original contribution to the literature by attending to two key research aims:

1. To interrogate the power relationships that impact upon the lives of veteran offenders by placing the violent veteran's narrative into the developing literature in the criminology of war. In doing so, offer a critical analysis of what the violence of the veteran reveals about the political category they assume post-conviction and what that exposure means for understandings of war and governance.
2. To provide a platform for narratives offered by convicted veterans that fall outside of dominant discourse, with particular reference to how veterans understand their criminality.

By attending to these aims, veteran criminality can then be analysed in such a way that moves beyond contemporary frames that continue to position and identify their crimes as a product of individual experience of war. In doing so, I investigate whether their violence is better understood as an extension of the war paradigm itself. What is meant by the "war paradigm" speaks directly to the post 9/11 security terrain, especially how the changing nature of warfare has brought together practices of war and criminal justice in a more unified strategic framework. The significance of 9/11 will be explained below when defining the scope of this thesis, in this particular setting not only have existing war

paradigms been reworked to force a fundamental rethink of the battlefield beyond traditional geo-political terms (i.e. war between nations), the ways in which existing legal paradigms have been reworked. This is especially the case where the question of rights are concerned (Blank 2011). With this in mind, this thesis addresses the following research questions:

1. *How is the violent veteran framed as a distinct category for legal forms of governance?*
2. *What are the limitations of this legally framed approach? (Or in other words, what is omitted from our understandings of veterans violence when we analyse their actions as legal in one context (war) and illegal in another (post-deployment UK)*
3. *How does the veteran convicted of a violent offence in England make sense of their crime and their new identity as a criminal?*
4. *How is the violent veteran understood by those charged with their rehabilitation?*

In order to begin addressing the limitations currently shaping contemporary thinking and policy on the veteran as a violent domestic category, the focus for the rest of this chapter will be to introduce my problematic and the context in which it arises. Firstly, I will present the ways we come to know veterans in contemporary British society. This is important, as it is through these constructions that veterans in turn construct their own narratives and how criminal justice practitioners make sense of veterans on their caseload. The discussion will then move on to situate the veteran identity in the criminal justice landscape, with particular emphasis on the dominant discourses guiding practice. I will then define the project in terms of the literature I aim to contribute to, along with explaining the methods used and the scope of this project. Once the thesis has been

defined, the analytical framework of “veteranality” will then be introduced. The chapter ends by detailing the structure of this thesis and the significance of its contents.

Veterans and British society

Veterans are subject to the changing rationalities, logics and fortunes of the wars they fight. Poignantly, the United Kingdom has recently marked the Centenary of the start of the First World War. This is not an end point, but a starting position through which we might interrogate a long history of violence and its aftermaths. For in the hundred years that have passed, the Union has remained engaged in armed conflict in one form or another (Cobain *et al* 2014). Having said this, while the necessity for warfare appears ever-present, the nature of conflicts have varied considerably during this time. British armed-forces can be witnessed and have bared witness to conventional military operations such as World War 1, World War 2 and the Falklands War. These wars are an important to the participants of this study as it is through these wars that they differentiate themselves from more traditional representations of being a veteran. These wars, I was told were real wars as you only returned when they were over (see chapter five and six). Britain has also had limited combat engagements such as those in Korea, Borneo, Kenya, and Cyprus (Edwards 2012), more counter-terrorists strategies when confronting the violence of the “Troubles” in Northern Ireland onto more recent conflicts that are more internationally framed, beginning with the first Gulf War. The veteran participants of this study however were part of the global counter-terror strategies of the ‘Wars on Terror’ which have shaped the landscape since 2001. Indeed, now some fourteen years into the War on Terror, despite the apparent successes in Afghanistan, the global political landscape is more complex and fraught than ever. David Cameron (2014) illustrated this in a speech in which he described the threat posed by Islamic State

Militants (ISIS) as one that will last the 'rest of his political life'. These threats, he claimed, place further demands on the Armed Forces, who, Cameron continued, will be called upon again for their 'bravery'.

While it should be quite evident that veterans are not some homogenous group, especially since the experience of war (as many personal testimonies show) is complex and contested, individual narratives are nevertheless frequently lost in representations and perceptions of the veteran. The focus instead overwhelmingly frames the British veteran through various illustrations that highlight self-sacrifice, heroism and national pride. Indeed, being prepared to serve, and if necessary to die for, one's country has become more than a hallmark of nationalism (Ware 2012). It is now integral to claims of global peace, security and justice (Blair 2007). One only has to look at the way the British Government and the Ministry of Defence represents and narrates Armed Forces Day. Typical here are recurring images of veterans and retired personnel, still adorning their military dressage, while often being photographed in front of new high-tech weaponry which echoes both the valour of continuous sacrifice, and the on-going necessity for warfare.



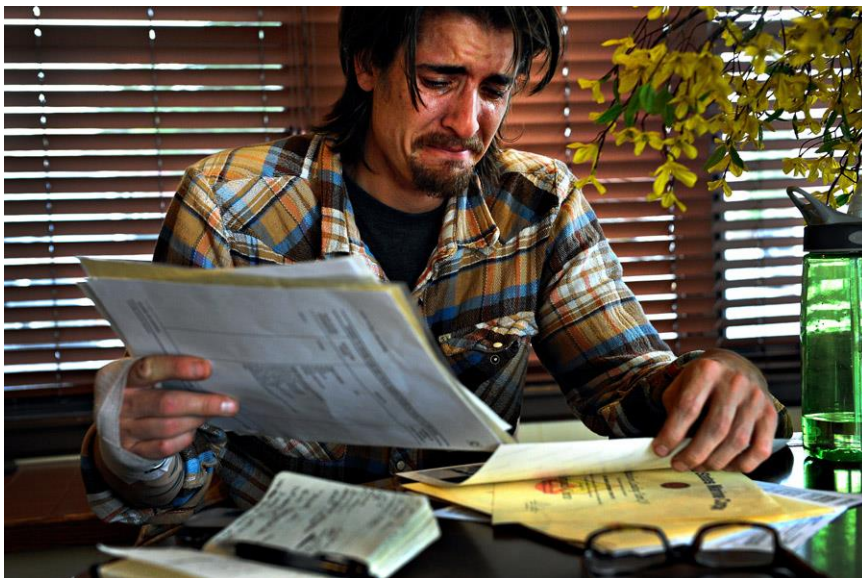
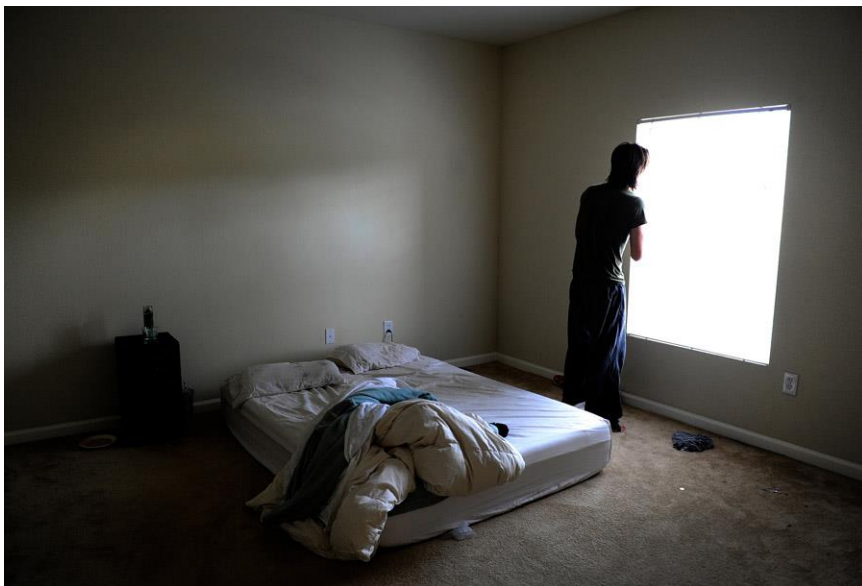
Image: Veteran glider pilots supporting Armed Forces Day, MOD. ⁵

Countering these overtly politicised representations are the narratives, which focus instead upon the lived experiences and realities of veterans post-war. That is to say, alongside collective narratives of pride, campaigners for various charitable organisations speak more of their sense of abandonment and sheer helplessness (Kearney 2015). This is something that appears especially acute with both the issues of domestic abuse (Williamson 2009), onto the more challenging problem of veteran homelessness (Armitage 2015). While the United States has a notable history of such problems which are widely documented in academic literatures (Evans 2012; Jamil *et al* 2006) and popular culture such as the movie *Born on the 4th July*, the reality of veterans living on the streets of Britain, now are estimated at some 9000 today, points to a different image of their post-war conditions (StopWar 2015). The unsettling image of the veteran along with their sense of the vulnerability and on-going relations to violence in the post 9/11 setting is illustrated with the Pulitzer Prize (2012) winning photojournalism of Craig F.

⁵ Source: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/guildford-to-host-armed-forces-day-2015>

Walker. The tragedy of coming back from war is most apparent in his subject Scott Ostrum's words that accompany one of the many disturbing images:

'My PTSD comes from long exposure to combat trauma... I think it comes from the fact that I survived. That wasn't my plan. It's an honor to die for my country, but I made it home.'



Images: Welcome Home, The Story of Scott Ostrom, Craig F. Walker, Pulitzer Prize 2012⁶

⁶ Source: <http://www.pulitzer.org/works/2012-Feature-Photography>

Walker's work is important and unique insomuch as his photojournalism provides an opportunity for veterans to narrate their own experiences. Such approaches however seldom cross-over into academic research and policy debates as the veteran instead becomes an embodied site for contested meaning between various agencies and actors. Maintaining through research the common tendency to speak on their behalf with their best interests in mind. What became particularly striking however during the course of this research was the ways in which veterans make sense of themselves. Participants did not simply identify with polar representations of the soldier who is willing to give the ultimate sacrifice versus the man on the street whose sheer vulnerability points to a precarious and undignified existence. That a researcher showed interest at all in their stories was an issue often raised in discussion.

Public representations of the veteran are the outcome of many (sometimes complimentary, often competing) political agendas. It is no surprise therefore to find that the literature representing the veteran is rich and expansive, stretching across oral histories (Max, 2012; Sarkar, 2012), personal accounts (Cawthorne 2007; Rayment 2008) sociological readings (Hill, 1949, Turner and Rennell, 1995) and studies of personal trauma (Jones & Wessley, 2005; Stimpson et al., 2003). The frequently cited work of Rachel Woodward and Neil Jenkins (2009, 2011, 2012a, 2012b) is important here, as it explores how military identities and claims made upon this group (as a result of dominant perceptions) are typically presented through what are identified to be either 'engineering' or 'enlightenment' literatures. Engineering perspectives, they argue, discuss the veteran as purely functional category insomuch as individual identities can be managed in 'the pursuit of military objectives' (2011: 254). Veterans, in other words, provide the surest embodiment of the need for more military investments.

‘Enlightenment’ literature, on the other hand, concerns post-structural or feminist interventions, which are influenced by constructionist epistemologies that focus on the subjectivities of military identities. Such enquiries disrupt the militaristic continuum, not least by bringing into critical question problematic issues concerning masculinity and gender.

Alongside this, on-going depictions of military subjects continue to permeate popular culture. Roger Stahl (2010) analyses the ways in which war floods the popular imagination, from media to interactive gaming in the form of what he termed ‘militainment’. He continues that, through fiction, reality television or the interactive gaming industry, audiences are engaged in the spectacle of war that renders the brutalities of combat a form of entertainment. Films and documentaries alike serve to normalise the violence of war, whilst gamers “play war” and experience violence as virtual citizen soldiers. This is significant for popular understandings of the veteran in society as these technological advances bring the war onto television screens in a variety of ways - providing novel platforms through which the image of soldiering is mediated. Through informative broadcasts, dramatic fictions and gaming products, contemporary theatres of war have become part of everyday living such that what was once hidden from public view is now actively sold as something to be virtually participated.

However, just as new security challenges have disrupted conventional dichotomies of war and peace (Aas 2012; Evans 2013a), a discussion I will detail in chapter two, competing claims over ‘Britishness’ and the imagery of veterans are similarly challenged. Debates about what it means to be British are becoming confused with more complex cultural layers of religious distinctions which often displaces the familiarity of 20th Century geo-strategic rivalries (Allen 2014). Not only has this forced a reconsideration in

terms of the justification for warfare, it has created an ambiguity about the meaning of serving for one's country (Ware 2014). For example, while the all too familiar figure of the brave military soldier may well be ubiquitous in terms of official representations and narratives, as Ware (2014) rightly points out, the appearance of images of coffins draped in the Union Flag are sites and sights of intense emotional and political struggle. Testament to this is the recent policy to lower the profile of these ceremonies as a matter of political choice (Quinn 2013). The fallen soldier thus brings into sharp focus the casualties and suffering of new forms of war onto British streets, and as a consequence support for war proves more difficult to sustain. The parallels here with the United States are all too evident, notably witnessed in the U.S. government's total media blackout of such images since the first Gulf War in 1991⁷.

Through this complex interplay of narratives the veteran in contemporary British society needs to be re-imagined through new analyses. That is to not only make better sense of their reintegration into society by taking into account their political subjectivities, but also to raise more challenging questions of state sanctioned violence. Ross McGarry and Sandra Walklate (2011) have begun this process by proposing that the image of the veteran can be understood critically through frames of *victimisation* that places the soldier as a victim in the state decisions to engage in war and the realities of combat. Building on from this, McGarry & Walklate (2011; 2015) sought to nuance such debates by taking into account the experience of veterans as victims of post-war conditions (and often post-service). These interventions encourage us to consider what it might mean to re-imagine the veteran in more politically astute ways. The criminal veteran in British society stands at the intersection of an on-going tension between the remembrances of those 'heroes'

⁷ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/7986203.stm>

who died in the line of service, and a post-war criminal figure that dishonours the sacrifice, the violent veteran. Moving beyond such binaries requires us to see the figure of the veteran through their continued use of violence as evidence of more subtle and complex conditions of vulnerability and (in) security. Such an angle of vision might allow us to better grasp the more complex realities of the convicted veteran whose narrative ultimately traverses the challenging and politically fraught terrain from “national defender” to ‘national offender’ (Murray 2015a). This is a theme I will revisit throughout this thesis.

Defining the Project: An Interdisciplinary Conversation

It is not new to argue that criminology is rather unique as it draws upon a wide interdisciplinary field to make sense of its subject – crime. Those disciplines range from philosophy, law, politics and sociology to statistics, biology and psychology (Hall and Winlow 2012). This has led Cohen (1988) to refer to criminology as parasitic, as it adapts knowledge not of its own making, but rather applies it to the problem of crime (Cohen 1988). Evidence of this can be found in the intellectual consideration of social control, justice, law and ethics that existed long before criminology became a recognised field of study in the first half of the twentieth century (Hall & Winlow 2012). While criminology emerged in the wake of the First and Second World Wars, authors have questioned why the discipline largely missed opportunities to make sense of war and post-conflict society (Walklate & Mc Garry 2015). One might ask if criminology emerged to make sense of crime and responses to it and if war was not a crime then why discuss it? The political and internationalist distinctions which are so often seen as inherent to any analysis of war (insomuch as war is declared by political actors) often takes place in an setting beyond the domestic field, has then limited criminological efforts.

Reflecting these constraints, if we look a little closer we see that criminology then has been limited by a stagnated battle between the 'administrative' and the 'critical' (Hall & Winlow 2012). Administrative criminology is that scholarly activity that accepts the aetiology of crime and sets about explaining it from a positivistic stance that often sustains the political agendas. Critical criminology works hard to consider the power that is constitutive to a broader control system. Neither of these efforts however had war at the top of their 'to-do' list - for administrative criminology, war was legal and so it was no business of theirs, whereas critical scholars would refer to war as they fought to dissociate with the legal framework in their theorising – though in the main this was only to highlight the hypocrisy of legitimate violence and not a genuine effort to understand war *per se*. If we consider these trends in criminology, which still determine so much of its teaching today it is perhaps not as surprising that war is a relatively new agenda.

Alongside this, research on the military and of the soldier's place in society has grown considerably in academia. Since the Cold war these studies have grown in impact as conventional military and war studies have been accompanied by critical security studies, critical war studies, and critical terrorism studies. More recently the emergence of a critical military studies and the journal by the same name offered a rigorous and pioneering platform for interdisciplinary debate. That platform promises to address the operation of military power through research that disrupts dominant representations of the military. (Basham *et al* 2015, Enloe, 2015, Serlin 2015). Drawing upon political science, sociology, international relations and psychology, these studies have offered a progressive understanding of the military as an institution and its masculine culture (Higate, 2003; Higate and Cameron, 2006). In this vein criminology can address similar

research questions to further consider what it means to *be* a violent veteran in the criminological sense. And indeed how qualitative narratives can be used to entrench each participants' biography in a juridical-political setting.

In doing so a case can be made for understanding how the violent veteran is socially constructed and assembled through tropes (styles of discourse). This epistemological position promises a new angle of vision which first questions the frames adopted in analysis and shows how discursive frames can be more than polemical. Research must consider the relationship that analytical frames have within the social reality they represent (Shapiro, 2001). It is to respect the agency of each participant above the intellectual abstractions of particular psychological or political theories. The real skill of interpretive research then is to sift through the data produced in order to identify these frames and to find where and when they correlate with existing knowledge, and more important still, where and when they show themselves to be in excess of 'what we know'.

This research began from the empirical understanding that violent veterans posed considerable and unique challenges for questions of rehabilitation through the criminal justice system. Appreciating from the outset that there were clear limitations in the policy process as noted by academics and practitioners (Murray 2014b; Treadwell 2010; Taylor 2010), which appeared to stem from the ways in which the violent veteran was understood, the project developed through a series of in-depth interviews and engagements with those key literatures. The narratives found in the literature (see chapter three) inform the policy debate and my analysis allows for more critical reflections on the broader criminological contexts. My methodological start point was admittedly empirical inasmuch as I wanted to put forward the straightforward question: how would veterans themselves explain their predicament? I also consciously sought to

make a clear move to reintroduce agency (therefore the political) into the debate. Needless to say however, whilst undertaking this research some personal methodological challenges were raised on account of who I was (see chapter four).

As the project developed, it became more apparent of the need to investigate the violent veteran by adopting a more interdisciplinary approach. I was taken by and felt well versed in the emerging criminology literatures - and was increasingly appreciative of the moves being made within this field to speak more broadly to global political concerns. Yet, I felt that the literature was in part limited insofar as it could help me to make sense of my findings as they emerged (see chapter two). While I accept that there are a whole number of possible conversations to be had regarding the ways we might rethink the problem of the violent veteran, it initially seemed that my empirical findings talked most directly to the International Relations discipline and its theorisations on war and violence. Here, however, I also became aware of the evident limits within this field, which seemed to follow the same methodical patterns as conventional criminology. Just as dominant stands within criminology started with given assumptions about the status of law, which rested upon very clear demarcations between the domestic and the international, it was also apparent that IR's focus with the question of sovereignty also offered top-down understandings of power. To analyse my data I was keen to move beyond distinct areas of interest i.e. politics or law, domestic or international, in ways that seemed to limit interdisciplinary discussions.

However, there were scholars within both disciplines that engaged with more critical approaches (particularly with the ideas of Michel Foucault) that moved beyond the problematic tradition of canonising theoretical positions or trying to filter empirical problems within preconceived world-views and already set frames. Foucault as such

began to influence my analytical framework – what I have termed veteranality –that is largely informed by governmentality theorists (see below and chapter three). I consider that these works offer more useful understandings of power in the context of my problem. Indeed, it was through the disciplinary crossovers between critical scholars working in the field of IR with those scholars associated with the criminology of war investigations that I appreciated the ability to retain a commitment to the integrity of empirical data on veterans in ways that contributes to the academic debate. As Brad Evans (2010: 242 my emphasis) writes:

While Foucauldian scholars can rightly argue that alternative histories of the subjugated alone permit us to challenge the monopolization of political terms – not least ‘civil war’ – for Foucault in particular there was something altogether more important at stake: *there is no obligation whatsoever to ensure that reality matches some canonical theory*. Despite what some scholars may insist, politically speaking there is nothing that is necessarily *proper* to the sovereign method. It holds no distinct privilege. Our task is to use theory to help make sense of reality, not vice versa.

As this thesis seeks to contribute to criminological debates and research through its empirical insights, it further aims to encourage interdisciplinary conversations, especially with certain critical strands of international relations (IR) and politics. A promising start point is the realisation that both disciplines have shown shared interests

in analysing political violence, security, crime, risk and human rights in the War on Terror context (Aradau and van Munster, 2009). We cannot avoid however each disciplines pre-occupations with their 'own' dilemmas (Loader and Percy, 2012). Indeed, as already mentioned, there is a need to challenge the dominance of certain established theoretical positions in both disciplines, which continue to concentrate their efforts on what can crudely be considered as "threats to security" that rely upon clear lines between inside and outside dimensions. If future dialogues of interdisciplinary security scholarship continue to be fashioned around dichotomies of inside/outside, domestic/international or quite simple here/over there, the danger is that we continue to privilege certain voices, often to the detriment of those most affected – namely veterans (Murray 2015a).

A special issue of *Global Crime* (2012) argued that globalising processes render the inside and outside divide visible only in academia, even though it was impossible to draw outside of university walls (Aas, 2012; Holmqvist, 2012; Loader & Percy 2012). The special issue highlights that fostering and feeding the link between criminology and IR is both a challenging yet rewarding enterprise. Having said this, it is important to be mindful of the fact that although there is now a small body of work that reduces the lines drawn between both disciplines, such lines are nonetheless very real in terms of the literature and our understandings of common problems. Rather than seeing this as a problem, I take this as an invitation for more efforts to engage with international security problems from an interdisciplinary perspective. It calls for 'approaches to criminology and international relations which engage thoroughly and thoughtfully with the literature of the other field' (Loader and Percy, 2012: 218). With this in mind, I have been further inspired by the ambitions of Claudia Aradau and Rens van Munster (2009), along with Teresa Degenhardt (2010), who have highlighted the worth of such engagements. The

governance of soldiers post-conflict is one such problem to be brought to these discussions. What is more, while I am mindful that such conversations may be considered by an 'interesting but not perfect criminology' or an 'important but not flawless IR'; my interest is less about purifying certain disciplinary vantage claims, than to overcome current 'obstacles to understanding' (Loader and Percy, 2012: 214).

This thesis will argue that violent veterans can progress our understandings of the muddy waters between the inside and the outside of security scholarship through a new reading of empirical data. The advantages of bringing the disciplines together in an analytical approach is, as Loader and Percy (2012: 216) suggest, a process which 'allows scholars to capture better the types of security provision that cut across traditional security divides' and as such 'grasp the intellectual and practical challenges that such boundary crossing generates'. The insights gleaned from an engagement with critical IR are such that they create new opportunities that have the capacity to overcome criminological difficulties to understandings the narratives of the violent veteran that connect war and criminal justice from the position of the human experience of both. Having said this, the thesis does not claim to be an IR project that readily assumes a distinct position within the field. I do believe however that through a modest engagement with these disciplines my findings add to an emerging conversation between criminology and those critical discussions taking place between disciplines, especially by attending to the changing nature of warfare and violence in ways that add considered empirical depth. I hope to demonstrate that the need to reimage the veteran is a concern for us both.

Defining the Project: Methodology and Research Sites

As already indicated, this thesis has been driven by the need to better understand the policies of governing violent veterans by listening to their narratives. The collection of

original empirical data was therefore central to the project. In order to give voice to the veteran offenders a sustained period of fieldwork took place during 2011-2013, with brief revisits to some sites in 2014. The data drawn upon for this project is taken from free-association narrative interviews with 18 veteran participants (VPs) and 16 semi-structured interviews with criminal justice practitioners working with veterans on their caseloads (CJPs). The data obtained in these interviews is further supported by my observations recorded in my research diaries, which provide self-reflective insight into my subject-centred position as a female investigator. The data was coded thematically and then analysed using critical discourse analysis (CDA) techniques. Drawing upon the narratives and testimonies offered, while subsequently reflecting upon my own personal journey, this method renders clear the subtleties of VP offences that fall outside current understandings offered in academia and policy documents (see chapter four).

The primary research site was Cheshire Probation Trust, with interviews also taking place through Manchester Probation Trust and the Warwickshire Veterans Contact Point. On occasion interviews took place in prisons in the area which will be referred to by a letter they were given, the visit number assigned to them and their category (for example prison X3B is prison X on the third visit and that was a category B institution). Those areas were selected because they had clear policies to identify veterans on their caseloads, however, as explained above, these processes were not the same. In Cheshire, veterans were assigned to a Veteran Support Officer (VSO)⁸, which meant that the probation service themselves in this area took on much of the responsibility of addressing criminogenic factors related to both offending and the military. In Manchester, each Local Delivery Unit (LDU) had a veteran's champion who was able to assist offender managers

⁸ An Offender Manager who has been trained in veteran awareness by the RBL and who came from the veteran community.

to assign veterans to veteran services. This is a notable difference in practice with Cheshire as here the probation service did not address military issues in their supervision but instead referred veterans to support services. Finally, in the Warwickshire area, a contract had been agreed between the Warwickshire Probation Trust and the Veterans Contact Point (VCP), which meant that veterans who presented on Warwickshire caseloads were directed to the VCP. Similar to procedures set at Manchester, in Warwickshire veterans were identified but their war/military related support needs and were not considered to be a problem for the criminal justice system. While Warwickshire has a much clearer centre for veterans and pathway for veteran offenders to take – Manchester worked upon a similar principle (see chapter seven).

Once access had been granted to Her Majesty's Prison Estate and The Probation Service by the National Offender Management Service (NOMS), participants were accessed using purposive sampling. The interviews with VPs were based upon the free association narrative interview technique in which they were asked to take part in two separate interviews. The importance of multiple interviews is well established in research methodologies (Gadd & Jefferson 2007). Whilst 18 VPs took part in this study and completed interview one, 12 VPs were able to complete the second interview (see chapter four). All participants were male aged 18-34; eight had served on one tour; seven had served in two tours; and three had been deployed three times⁹. They were considered "high-risk" and were serving a sentence in one of the named areas for violence at the time of the interview(s) (see chapter 8).¹⁰ All had committed offences under sections 18 and 20 of the Offences against the Person Act 1861 (OAP 1861). All of the 16 CJs were

⁹ All VPs were male and this is because female veterans were not counted or discussed at the time of this research. Female veterans are now starting to be acknowledged but not for violence offences.

¹⁰ Risk, in the case of the veteran offender was not always linked to the offence committed but instead was reworked to link a veterans violent training.

supervising a VP at the time of the research and had been through training with the Royal British Legion as part of that role. Of this sample, 12 were veterans themselves and 4 were part of what was termed the 'veteran family'. The veteran family are those who have served or have family members who have served in the armed forces. I had planned to interview all CJP's using a semi-structured interview schedule. However eight of the 16 opted to e-mail their responses.

At the time of the fieldwork, the delivery of punishment and rehabilitation was being further engulfed by neoliberal practices (Guilfoyle 2013; Corcoran 2014). It is important then to set this work into the wider context of the marketization of criminal justice through the introduction of, amongst other things, payment by results and the Transforming Rehabilitation Agenda¹¹ (TR). At the time of the fieldwork the criminal justice landscape was preparing for TR and this meant that decisions from senior managers about the sustainability and funding of initiatives were put on hold. It was explained to me on numerous occasions that while veterans were another problem for the criminal justice framework, in the light of the proposed changes, they were not a priority (CJP 4; Fieldnotes 2012; 2013; 2014). As a result all CJP's were working with policies that were often not given formal workload hours and so they were forced to work overtime to ensure that programmes continued.

¹¹ TR is the name given to the Conservative Government Strategy to manage offenders from 2015. It outsources a large proportion of probation service in England and Wales and the 35 probation trusts that existed up until this point have been replaced with one single national probation service (NPS) and 21 Community Rehabilitation Companies (CRC's). As the fieldwork took place CJP's and the wider service were working in anticipation of these changes.

The Scope of the Thesis

War is not a static phenomenon. As this thesis will go on to demonstrate (particularly in chapter two), conflicts often reveal many different logics, objectives, ambitions and technologically determined ways for inflicting violence and suffering. The focus of this thesis is the lived experiences of soldiers, as they become violent veterans in the aftermath of the conflicts of the war on terror post 9/11. The events of 9/11 were not only momentous in terms of changing the global political landscape - arguably in ways we are still yet to fully appreciate, it also had a profound impact on most disciplines concerned with the question of violent human behaviours. In fact it is very difficult to find any recent social science analysis dealing with global issues over the past decade that doesn't use the violence of 9/11 as some point of theoretical and analytical departure. This thesis is equally concerned with a temporal framing of the violent veteran understood in this context. This is crucial to this analysis. Given that the public has been consciously aware of the presence of war since 9/11, it is also the case that the criminal justice system is more frequently asked to consider the problems posed by soldiers returning from duty and service.

I am acutely aware of the limits of this research. It is not my intention to make generalizable claims regarding the lived experiences of soldiers and veterans. Nor do I claim some privileged vantage point into the truth of the violence of veterans. My research in fact highlights the complex realities of war and its aftermath from the perspective of those who have endured it. And, again I am also fully mindful that my personal subjectivity as a female investigator undoubtedly had a distinct influence in terms of the types of conversations I had with participants. Such subject-centred insight

however I believe allowed for a different conversation on the experiences of veteran offenders, which proved to be no less real than more familiar masculine discussions. Even though it does point to the types of methodological challenges such investigations create between violent men and female investigators which is worthy of further discussion in its own right (see chapter four).

Researchers in criminal justice settings face considerable challenges regarding both the unfamiliar environment, which can initially appear intimidating, along with the cultures and behaviours of their participants whom are known to have a history of violent behaviour. Such challenges inevitably raise issues of gender and race, along with raising personal and bureaucratic concerns with trust and safety (Bernasco 2010). During the fieldwork my own subjectivity played a role in the research process as well as the data obtained spoken to above. From the building of relationships onto the ways participants and gatekeepers responded to my presence and requests who I was became important. From the outset the evident distinctions between the participants and myself were noted by gatekeepers and participants such as the tensions between military/civilian, British/Irish and male/female. These categories encouraged me to be more self-reflective and appreciative of the significance of those experiences that I had planned to be in the early stages of the projects development. Indeed, the inter-subjective nature of the project provided some important insights into the challenges female researchers face when embarking on such investigations.

The veterans approached to take part in this study were all men who had served in Iraq or Afghanistan, and were serving a sentence for a violent offence at the time of the interview. The project developed with a particular understanding that their discourse was specific to time, space and context (see chapters three and four). This means that the

experience of veterans who served in other conflicts along with female soldiers do not form part of my findings. It also means that the narratives offered are shaped by an experience of having their military past highlighted. As a consequence, all VPs are narrating their positions at a time when political memory is still taking shape about the conflicts of Iraq and Afghanistan. Participants are then offering more than an oral history of their experience, as they also provide a memory that both embodies and resists evolving discourses about the truths of war and its lasting outcomes. Their narratives were produced within a criminal justice framework, as these men were subject to both punishment and rehabilitation regimes. The significance of this is measured by the presence of an ideological and overtly political struggle between the military imposed identity of being a 'veteran' and the judicial imposed identity of being a 'criminal'. The analysis attempts to realise this tension by identifying how identity is renegotiated within the continuously negotiated binaries of positive and negative labels and affirmations. The analytical framework employed aims to make sense of these tensions.

In terms of the scope of this thesis, the participants were assigned to three specific probation trusts. It should be pointed out that due to a change in government policy the trusts no longer exist. This is a direct result of the Transforming Rehabilitation (TR) agenda, which has brought about a new, though yet to be properly implemented (let alone open to critical investigation), policy regarding violent veterans through private contracting and provision of rehabilitation services. Rather than limiting the significance of the findings, however, this time-limited engagement allows for a focused and concentrated study that can be clearly assigned to specific criminal justice policies. It also means that while from a policy perspective, CJs no longer have these roles, and hence the findings may not always be relevant in terms of improving government practice

today, it will provide for meaningful comparisons between public and private approaches to the governance of violent veterans, onto what this means in terms of its qualitative impacts post TR. In essence the findings here provide a window into criminal justice processes that are subject to on-going changes, as a direct result of the privatisation of criminal justice, and if it informs change, it will need to be understood in in this broader context.

Veteranality: Towards a New Analytical Framework

As a result of the discussions to this point I was mindful of the need to address the problem of governing violent veterans in ways that both gives voice to their experiences, while also addressing the problematic ways they are managed within a criminal justice framework. The research questions at the centre of this project required a considered analytical framework that could make sense of the governance of veteran offenders from the perspective of those who experience it. My particular interest here is to specifically attend to the problem of violent veterans by highlighting the power relationships – especially the discursive – which have influenced policy decisions. By constructing veterans as an offending category dominant understandings shape the day the day management of veteran offenders and the ways that management is contested and resisted (see chapters five, six and seven). Top-down approaches to the study of violent veterans appear very arbitrary the moment you enter their world. In terms of their welfare and rehabilitation within the criminal justice system the researcher comes into immediate contact with the authority of the National Association of Probation Officers, the Ministry Of Defence, the Ministry Of Justice, the Howard League for Penal Reform, the Royal British Legion (TRBL), Help for Heroes, CombatStress, and The Centre for Mental Health, just to name a few. This points to a very complex network of power relationships

that bring together the military/civic, political/juridical, family/state, public/private, academics/media, practitioners/commentators, in strategic ways. As a result, the fieldwork placed me as a researcher in an environment that made all too visible the complex interconnections between laws, regulations and policies, initiatives, built environments, and practices that aimed to improve the conduct of veterans. Appreciative of this multi-agency architecture, I was keen not to assign power relations in some top-down fashion by simply addressing the power of the law through a narrow government framing. I also remained mindful of the fact that the veteran is not entirely powerless or without agency. Nor were they understood as an offending category that could easily fit into normative processes of criminal justice practices (see chapter three).

Through an analytical framework that I have elected to term ‘veteranality’, I sought to address the problems of *governing* violent veterans by taking into account the many complex power relationships that make continuous demands upon the conduct of the offenders, while in turn, giving the veterans a voice in these challenging processes. This framework is notably influenced by Foucault’s (1977; 1989a; 1989b; 1991) work on ‘governmentality’. My understanding of governmentality also draws upon the work of Peter Millar and Nikolas Rose (2008) and Mitchell Dean (2009), who further emphasise its importance as a considered analytical framework for interrogating multiple power relations. To ensure that the empirical informs the theoretical, and that the theoretical itself is only useful if it further reflects upon the realities of societal problems, my analytical approach aims to better understand regimes of rehabilitative power – or what Foucault (1977 interview) termed the *apparatus of security*:

What I am trying to single out with the term is, first and foremost, a thoroughly heterogeneous set consisting of

discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral, and philanthropic propositions – in short the said as much as the unsaid. Such are the elements of the apparatus. The apparatus itself is the network that can be established between these elements... by the term “apparatus” I mean a kind of a formation, so to speak, that at any given historical moment has as its major function the response to an urgency... The apparatus is thus always inscribed into a play of power, but it is also always linked to certain limits of knowledge that arise from it and, to an equal degree, condition it.

Giorgio Agamben (2009: 3) adds important insight here by proposing that the apparatus ‘appears at the intersection of power relations and relations of knowledge’. Veteranality is thus concerned with this intersection. As veterans, their governors¹² and the knowledge (both the dominant and marginal) that informs interventions come together a network of power relations or an *apparatus* is formed. Indeed, as this thesis moves to explore the discourse, scientific claims, legal frameworks and policies in chapter two and three, it does so to identify those dominant voices and functions in the apparatus for the violent veteran. The findings chapters of five, six and seven then seek to look beyond those narratives through data that adds to this the complexities of the lived experience of those involved.

¹² Governors in this thesis is a broad term I use to describe those who are tasked with the governance of veterans who have committed a crime. As such it is a reference for any individual who through their work punish or rehabilitate the criminal veteran.

Understanding here that critical theory is more like a “tool-box”¹³ that allows the researcher to conduct an analysis of practices of power, my analytical frame has consciously attended to processes of subjectification. This requires attending to technologies of rule, understanding the importance of teleological assumptions, onto identifying sites of everyday resistance. These tools are fully explained in chapter three.

Outline of the Thesis

Having set out the problematic of the thesis, this chapter now concludes by providing a brief summation of the project and its findings. Chapter two, titled ‘Criminology & the Problem of the Violent Veteran’ situates the violent veteran into an emerging field in criminology as a way to address more rigorously current academic debates, along with identifying gaps in our understanding. The chapter is split in order to address two pivotal discussions: how has criminology historically problematized war and what has it had to say about the veteran? The chapter begins by tracing the (re)emergence of war as a subject of criminological study. This literature is important as it allows us to see the violence of veterans in perceived times of peace as an extension of the war experienced. It is the purpose of these discussions to identify growing concerns about war in criminology and map out new areas for criminological scholarship, while at the same time showing the contemporary limits in our understandings of veterans that need to be addressed.

¹³ Foucault (1974) stated: ‘I would like my books to be a kind of tool-box which others can rummage through to find a tool which they can use however they wish in their own area... I would like [my work] to be useful to an educator, a warden, a magistrate, a conscientious objector. I don't write for an audience, I write for users, not readers. Taking this an invitation to use Foucault where he can help, I refer to the concepts of veteranality as ‘tools’ throughout this thesis.

Chapter three, titled 'Veterans as a governmental problem' outlines the significance of governmentality for framing and interrogating the figure of the veteran who is convicted of a criminal offence post-deployment. Looking specifically at the ways in which governmentality provides a different analytic of power and a means for addressing the governance of problem populations within a regulatory framework, it highlights the relevance of this approach. Addressing specifically the ways in which governmentality allows us to take into account the multiple actors involved within the networks of security regimes, so it also foregrounds more the complexities and tensions inherent to any governance project. In doing so, it allows for a more sophisticated analysis of the politics of governance, thereby providing more detailed insight into the effects of power as they play out at the level of the subject who appears to be a problem – in this case the veteran offender.

Chapter four, titled 'Engaging with Violent Veterans and their Governors' details my methodology including its rationale and its process as applied to the fieldwork study. Working within a governmental frame for analytical enquiry, I explain in detail the conduct of the research enquiry, focusing in particular on empirical processes that have made this research possible. The chapter is also a site for self-reflection. The chapter begins by detailing my epistemological position and then attends to the ways in which governmental processes were both experienced and challenged in practice. As already mentioned, this detailed attention to my methods is significant, not only for drawing attention to the complex ways in which veteran populations are managed, but to map out the importance of qualitative approaches in foregrounding the voice of veterans by taking into account inter-subjective relations (including what the researcher brings to the discussion).

Having set out the methodological position, the thesis then turns to the original qualitative data. These are presented in three empirical chapters that address key stages in the life of a veteran. In brief, chapter five, titled 'The Violent Life of the Soldier' explores the lives of participants before their conviction. I draw on the narrative interviews with veteran participants to explore participants' childhoods and the reasons they give for joining the military, along with their experiences during service. This is important, as it is upon these narratives that veterans often make sense of themselves. Chapter six also speaks directly to questions of self-perception post-sentence. Titled 'Renegotiating the Military Identity' I explore the narratives offered that give a voice to the journey from veteran to criminal veteran in a bid to move criminological thinking away from the temptation of only quantifying the complexities of the experience in time framed marked by prison settings. Lastly, chapter seven, titled 'Governing the Violent Veteran' addresses the data obtained from CJP's and my field notes to consider how the criminal justice system has come to terms with this new offending population.

By way of a conclusion, chapter eight will outline the significance of the research, pointing to an alternative understanding of the veteran which demands a new angle of vision. In particular attention will be drawn to the ways in which the veteran can be imagined as a vulnerable category whose tropes disrupt conventional understandings of the veteran in society. In conclusion, I will consider how an in-depth narrative study of violent veterans helps in our understanding of a newly identifiable group of offenders. I will then move on to discuss the way in which power and knowledge operate and react to identities within the punishment framework, before detailing how the main themes and arguments can be drawn together to offer a new dialogue for addressing war in criminology.

Criminology and the Problem of the Violent Veteran

Introduction

The problem of the violent veteran is not something that can or should be assigned to criminology alone. In fact, criminology has had very little to say about this group of offenders in any qualitative way, let alone how society might begin to address the problem. In the previous chapter I introduced a body of literature frequently referred to as ‘the criminology of war’. The idea that there could be a dedicated field of study called the criminology of war was first suggested by Ruth Jamieson (1998), but it wasn’t until the events of September 11th 2001 that the value of this approach resonated more broadly as a concern for those working within the discipline. The event of 9/11 is also considered fundamental to my analysis, as its wars directly frame the emergence of a new class of offender. With this in mind, this chapter will now provide a response to the first research aim of this thesis:

1. To interrogate the power relationships that impact upon the lives of veteran offenders by placing the violent veteran’s narrative into the developing literature in the criminology of war. In doing so, offer a critical analysis of what the violence of the veteran reveals about the political category they assume post-conviction and what that exposure means for understandings of war and governance.

As stated in chapter one, one of the intentions of this thesis has been to develop a narrative that connects a growing body of literature within the discipline that addresses

the problem of the violent veteran in a more interdisciplinary way. Noting that criminology has seldom turned to disciplines such as international relations and politics through their studies of war, I argue that the violence of the veteran might be better explained as an extension of the war paradigm into which they are placed. This chapter will develop this by suggesting where a narrative that connects political and criminological understandings of war and veterans can be situated. Responding directly to the research aim above, the literatures presented in this chapter are reviewed with a clear objective in mind. Namely, to make the academic case as to why the violence of the veteran can be seen as an extension of the war paradigm, which in turn, argues for an analysis of this problem with an appreciation of what war actually means from the perspective of the soldier.

This chapter will address this in three clear stages. Firstly, the chapter traces the appearance of war in the criminological literature before 9/11. This sets the scene for the way war has been theorised and understood. Secondly, the chapter will map out new ways of approaching the criminology of war literature by drawing upon understandings of war from other disciplines (mainly international relations (IR) and politics). This begins the process that suggests the start of a critical analysis that considers what the violence of the veteran reveals about both war and governance. Thirdly, the chapter will identify how this research project contributes to the criminology of war literatures. In particular, how it is possible to overcome current gaps in knowledge and the tendency to preclude any serious interest in the veteran or their crimes post-deployment.

Tracing War in Criminological Literatures before 9/11

The relationship between war and crime is often related back in criminology to Karl Mannheim's work during the Second World War. It should be pointed out, however, that

Willem Bonger (1916) also spoke of war through a Marxist reading of 'militarism' and economic conditions where he states that the militarism of the time was a consequence of capitalism, with an aim to protect sovereign borders and to attain 'foreign' space for domestic capital gain. War continued to be implicit in Bonger's writing, especially in 1936 where he explored crimes attributable to wartime conditions. He claimed that the occupation of war gave rise to a 'spirit of violence'. When set in the context of fractured family life, insufficient resources and on-going enmity, criminality will increase. Such sentiments are inherent in contemporary efforts to understand the criminogenic needs of veterans, which will be returned to in chapter three. During World War 2, criminology continued to reflect on war in a way that remained wedded to its fundamental legality. Robert Park (1941: 568) exemplifies this by theorizing about the functionality of war in nation building:

As states have come into existence by war, it has seemed to certain writers that they are forever condemned to continue their conquests in order to maintain their existence. Nothing is more demoralizing to an army or to a military state than peace, and nations to survive must act.

In the same year, Mannheim (1941) rendered war and crime as two distinct phenomena that can be explained by asking whom is committing the violent action; group action he considered to be war whilst individual action should be considered as crime. He did however problematise these distinctions through an acknowledgement that clarity may be lost when crimes take on the character of war or when harm is considered through the actions of one group violating another. He states that 'the opposite of war is not so much peace in its modern sense, but simply the absence of violence' (Mannheim 1941: 11). So

he continues 'crime is always wrong, war is only wrong according to circumstances' (1941:6). Through this work we can observe early efforts in criminology to look to those moments when the legality of war can be questioned through its conduct. And in turn, it was possible to place a more critical lens upon its study of warfare. However, in the wake of World War II the literature appeared to entertain a critique of war before turning its gaze back to something altogether more comfortable and familiar (the illegal).

During this period criminology had to deal with a more vexing issue. As the country began to rebuild itself post-war, how was it possible to account for the fact that criminality did not decline as had been expected? Edwin Sutherland (1949) suggested that a study of "war crimes" on domestic soil should not preclude the conditions of the times, as profiting from war was an extension to his understanding of corporate crimes of period. War simply provided new opportunities. Although this corporate crime literature was considered part of the critical branch of criminology, its approach to war was again wedded to its legality. The reality of war was placed beyond reflection, inspection and thought. That said observations about how crime increased domestically during war periods (Cornil 1951) did emerge, as did the interest in the prosecution for wartime crimes (Zolo 2009). Ross McGarry and Sandra Walklate (2015) capture the significance of this by noting how this focus served to obscure rather than implicate the role of the state in the violence of war.

Evidence of this tendency to 'obscure' state complicity can be found in the framing of the war in Northern Ireland and 'the Troubles'. While this conflict has been the subject of criminological analysis for some time, instead of making sense of the violence in Northern Ireland through the frame of war, it is often portrayed as domestic terrorism. This reduces the conflict to matters of policing and security (Spjut 1986). This is a pattern

which criminologists continue by either adhering to the terrorist frame (Ellison & Smyth 2000; Ellison 2007; 2010; O'Reilly & Ellison 2006) or adopting a peace keeping perspective that straddles across discourses of criminality and warfare (Gormally & McEvoy 1997). It is notable how the British state worked hard to depoliticise the conflict in Northern Ireland in later years by shifting from a language of war to framing the IRA as criminal connivers. Indeed, in following the peace accords political leaders seldom use the very term terrorist, preferring instead to exchange any admission of political violence for organised criminality as if to evidence the on-going success of the process. Terrorism does after-all at least designate political hostility. The response thus remains wedded to criminality despite any narrative from that might suggest otherwise – thereby posing a certain set of problems for the relationship between policing, conflict and war.

Placing military personnel

So what becomes of military personnel in this theorising? Central here are questions of the 'legitimizing ideology' (Green and Ward 2004: 147) and what this means for those who enact violence. Jamieson (1998) contends that war grants its combatants an authority to engage in behaviours such as murder and destruction of property in the name of duty and military necessity. There is however a paradox. The legitimate right to engage in violence nearly always goes hand in hand with 'illegitimate opportunities for its constant reinforcement' (Ruggerio 2005: 240). For criminologists who have dealt with this paradox, crimes that happen in war have been considered as a continuation of crimes in general that could be distinguished only by the altered political context (Reckless 1942; von Hentig 1947). Such literature however sanitises killing through frames of legitimate power. Stephen Pfohl (1985) captures this by contending that acts of killing couldn't always be reduced to homicide (with evident implications for criminological theory):

The characteristic act of men at war is not dying, it is *killing*. For politicians, military strategists, and many historians, war may be about the conquest of territory or the struggle to retrieve a sense of national honour but for the men of active service warfare is concerned with the *lawful killing of other people*. Its peculiar importance derives from the fact that *it is not murder, but sanctioned blood-letting*, legislated for the highest civil authorities and obtaining consent of the vast majority of the population. (Burke, 1999: xiii *my emphasis*)

Consequently, the imagery of the “military man” discussed in chapter one traditionally enjoyed a space that is removed from criminological critique in spite of the fact that such sites of legitimacy teach violence. As Randolph Hamon (1918: 64) claims:

War thus becomes a school of crime, a university of hooliganism and worse, whose bitter fruit may well be tainted in the years after the war

In this vein, clusters of scholarship (somewhat predictably) emerge in post-conflicts environments that consider how the returned veteran is a product of learned violence and moral revolution. Described as an ‘apprenticeship of war’ (Hamon 1918: 43) or an ‘atrocious habit’ (von Hentig 1947) this learned behaviour is explored on the fringes (Abbott 1918; Lifton 1974) and not in a way that is seen as truly meaningful for the discipline. Michael Hakeem’s (1946) study stands alone in his explanation of the ways in which war takes individuals from predominately ordinary homes and teaches them to be aggressive, to hate and to kill. His study was conducted with the purpose to explore the

causal relationship between military training, combat and criminality. Yet although he was able to offer a rudimentary typology of what those links may look like, he concluded that it would not be possible to support the hypothesis that military training tends to give individuals a 'criminalistic orientation'. As is the case in contemporary theorising (see below) his findings ended up passing the problem back into the hands of psychology as the best place to ultimately account for veterans' criminality. Any suggestion of an extension of war is thus reduced to a question of individual pathology. Understood as 'war syndromes' that are subject to cultural and temporal factors, these 'mediacy unexplained' conditions have shifted from nostalgia, to shell-shock, before being medically understood and termed PTSD (Murray 2014a; Jones & Wessley, 2005).

The conflicts in former Yugoslavia however encouraged some new directions in criminology that asked what it might say about war, specifically the relationship between war, crime and criminal justice. This is in fact where Jamieson (1998) found inspiration as she advised against those debates that overwhelmingly started from the point of legality, advocating instead a focus on the exceptionally damaging behaviours of warfare and its aftermath. Whilst this represented an important departure for the field, as I shall now explain, it was the events of 9/11 and the subsequent response in Iraq and Afghanistan that provoked more urgency for criminologists to start engaging with the legacies of war in more sophisticated ways.

Having demonstrated that war has been implicit in criminological theorising for some considerable time. Jamieson's purpose was to engage the discipline in the complexities that connect war and crime and urge us to be more aware of the lasting effects – especially the complexities that are often masked by reductionist approaches that focus solely on legal/illegal behaviour. Her claim was that a criminological analysis could consider the

effects of war through a range of critically engaged methods, and that in turn, the findings could be meaningful to how war is understood. What was being suggested here was a framework that may be useful for criminologists who were interested in engaging in such research, especially concerning the criminal opportunities available to soldiers or the forms of social control and victimization inherent in conflict zones. However, while there is some evidence that this work reached some influential critical thinkers (Young, 1999, 2007, 2011; Ruggiero, 2006) as Walklate & McGarry (2015) note, there was very little uptake on her ideas by the discipline until after 9/11.

Criminology and War Post 9/11

The significance of the violence of 9/11 continues to be witnessed in theatres of conflict across the world. Aside from the loss of life on that day and since through the subsequent declaration of the Global War on Terror a whole number of questions are raised regarding the links between war and legality. Guantanamo Bay and Abu Ghraib are examples of this as they revealed many of the limits of juridical power in addressing new and emergent forms of violence. Politicians even reasoned that legal frameworks were increasingly redundant when facing these new forms of threat, which no longer could be neatly be fitted into state paradigms (Agamben 2005; Edkins & Shapiro 2004; Evans 2013a). Barbara Hudson (2003) explored the significance of this for domestic criminal justice policy by first outlining what the 'ticking time bomb thesis meant for criminology. Hudson (2009) later broadened her inquiry to ask what justice looked in a 'time of terror'. In response to these issues, the discipline was compelled to question more thoroughly how the complex relationship between crime and war, along with the need to address them in a political space (see for example: Brown 2011; 2015; Jamieson, 2015; Ruggerio 2006; 2015). If war has criminogenic properties then of course criminology should say

something about it. Similarly, if war and criminal justice are more entangled than criminologists have previously theorised, then it is incumbent on the discipline to engage in those debates.

Central to criminological concerns was the question of whether or not terrorism was now an act of warfare or crime? If it is a crime then why respond with war (Lea 2015)? Or if it is a war why are domestic policing and legal forces also being co-opted into the effort? This drew attentions to the most basic and yet deeply contested of questions: ‘what is a war?’ and ‘what is a crime?’ For example - if acts of domestic terrorism, such as those experienced through 9/11 are criminal then why was it matched by the rhetoric of war? And, vice versa if terrorism is now an act of war, then what does that mean for the criminal justice framework that have been openly recruited in the response (Degenhardt 2013)? This resulted in a series of engagements that provided novel interpretations on how the problem of war impacted upon domestic legal frameworks. Ronald Kramer & Raymond Michalowski (2005) Christian Enemark and Christopher Michaelsen (2005) and Morton Winston (2005), for instance, put forward a number of works that showed a shared concern with the criminogenic properties of the invasion of Iraq in 2003. Green and Ward (2009) further proposed that this invasion escalated sectarianism in ways that challenged the ability to put in place viable constitutional frameworks. Together, this demanded a consideration of what the war on terror meant for addressing Human Rights (Hamm, 2007 and Shiner, 2008) and what the domestic effects of the war had on the criminal justice system, notably the impact on European immigration policies. Hudson’s (2009) work was particularly significant in this regard, as expressed in her unease at the correlation between the violence in Iraq and Afghanistan and the ways migrants are

criminalised from leaving what is a desperate political state. The parallels with the refugee crises engulfing Europe today are painfully evident (Dore 2015).

Criminology then started contributing to understandings of this new security terrain by offering ways to rethink war and post war conditions (Bouffards 2005; Degenhardt 2010; Green and Ward 2009; Hudson 2009; Jamieson 1998; Kramer & Michalowski, 2005; Ruggerio 2005; 2006). However, despite the increased awareness amongst scholars of the growing number of veterans who return from war and commit a violent offence in the UK (chapter 1 and 3), none of this work considered the problem from the perspective of the soldier. In fact, it wasn't until McGarry & Walklate (2011) crucially approached the veteran as a victim that military subjectivity was given any consideration.

(Re) placing military personnel

The physical and psychological sacrifice made by soldiers is widely acknowledged. Throughout history, countries have attempted to count the fallen and quantify the injuries of those who return, which of course include psychological injuries. The impact and scars of battle often visible upon combatant's bodies is typically framed as a mark of their bravery and courage in popular discourse – a social and cultural expectation. This raises a number of problems when addressing the experience of violence. As Rock (2007) explains, by framing military personnel who are harmed as a victim poses a series of challenges because the image of the soldier does not lend itself easily to the passive, vulnerable and weak connotations of a 'victim'. Further to this, if being harmed is part of military duty, then a reminder is necessitated in that to cause harm to others is also part of that duty.

Nonetheless, in the media and academia discussion, the soldiers' position is starting to be increasingly analysed more through victimological frames. As media report the fallen as

victims, critical criminologists have proposed that the state is culpable for the harms done to military personnel. These narratives speak to both conflict and post-conflict experiences. During conflict, placing soldiers in a victimological framework, new light is shed upon the potential consequences that face military personnel (McGarry and Walklate, 2011). To begin, those who die or are injured (both psychically and mentally) raise questions in terms of the States culpability. McGarry *et al*, (2012), take this a stage further by drawing attention to the human rights of soldiers and the practical challenges faced during wars that are perhaps less as well known. Experiences of military duty, from lack of satisfactory kit onto the reality of fatigue, hunger and sustained anxieties upon the body are analysed. What emerges from this is an understanding that whilst performing their military duty on behalf of the state is a task that is undertaken with commitment, knowledge and agency, soldiers can nevertheless be victimised by the state in terms of political, technological and emotional neglect (Ruggerio, 2006).

Central to Walklate and McGarry's (2015) work is the argument that experiences of war do not end once the tour is over. They refer to these as 'traces' of the violence of war. The repatriation of military personnel and the counting of those fallen is the first trace. For those soldiers who return home the violence of war is often still visible. The physiological trace can be found in rising levels of PTSD and other mental disorders such as Brain Blast Injury, whilst the physical trace can be found in the large numbers of soldiers wounded. Their analysis questions whether or not some of those injuries are attributable to military equipment, raising questions as to whether or not even during combat there is to some extent an expectation of safety through equipment. The results mean, as I have argued elsewhere, when equipment is not up to the necessary standard. The State should be

liable for those breaches and this can also be addressed in a criminological frame (Murray 2016c).

The complexity of this framing continues to be realised as the significant number of ex-armed forces embroiled in the criminal justice system is acknowledged. Many of those who commit an offence post-war are diagnosed with PTSD. A victimological frame encourages a consideration here of both the perpetrators of crime and their victims as “casualties of war” not simply collateral damages (Treadwell, 2010). Indeed we might also extend this to ask whether this violence also further evidence or another example of a trace of war that manifests itself as soldiers return? McGarry and Walklate (2011: 14) contend that victimology is able to look ‘beyond the domain assumptions of crime *per se* and explore the experiences of those who may be on the fringes of the discipline but are nonetheless very much within its capacity to understand.’ Whilst framing the soldiers as victims is not without its challenges, especially regarding the question of agency and responsibility for ones actions, it positively encourages a critical criminological understanding of the effects of war and an all too often obscured culpability and victimhood.

Reimagining War post 9/11

As criminology works to critically negotiate the complex relationship between war and crime, so neat assumptions concerning the legal/political and domestic/international are disrupted. Mindful of this, John Lea (2015) has provided an important warning: one must be careful not to only absorb the realities of war into pre-existing understandings of violence as a criminal act. This is not a call to retreat back into disciplinary silos. On the contrary, we must go further and broker new conversations about how violence comes to be legitimate in certain political contexts. All too often, problematic assumptions are

made which assume that the violence that occurs during war can be distinguished from criminal violence by its means, its ends and how society experiences both. Further to this, who counts as victims, and who counts as offenders, are often a matter of political positioning and decree. Moving beyond this, requires appreciating the interface between both 'crime' and 'criminal justice' in a society where war merges the two (Lea 2015).

In order to fully grasp society's complex relationship with the veteran there is a need to make sense of the tangled discourse of crime and war since 9/11. A great deal of the debates in the post 9/11 setting has appreciated the significance of the legal questions of war. Those questions are related to various claims concerning legality of interventions and the right to wage war to protect the peace. Notably inspired by Agamben (2005), what resonated here was a revival in the work of Carl Schmitt (1934) and the right to suspend rights, as scholars became increasingly concerned with the exceptional abuses of Sovereign power. The use of violence was thus inserted into an international legal framework in order to show its limitations and failures when dealing with exceptional forms of power (in this case the United States and its allies), onto the ways in which war represented a form of political excessiveness or exceptional positioning. That is not to argue that war doesn't point to excessive political action as it holds the potential to transform the fabric of entire societies. My concern however is to attend more to the realities of war and what this means for our understanding of the soldier. That is to ask how legal frameworks at a domestic level respond to the continuation of violence once new and more illegitimate forms of identification mark the soldier's subjectivity.

Jamieson (1998) already partly recognised this as she addressed the reasons why it is important to make sense of the complex and lived harms of experiencing war. Integral to her claims was the need to challenge orthodox framings of the conduct of soldiers in an

international legal framework, before subsequently highlighting its shortcomings or transgressions. Whilst her contributions have been instrumental in demanding more interdisciplinary discussions, I take it to be more meaningful to address the complexities of governing the key participants. My focus on the lives of veterans and their voices (chapter 5 and 6) offer one way to connect the conduct of battle from overseas theatres to the everyday streets in Britain, while in the process, affording agency to those who have ultimately been on the frontlines on the conflicts on the 21st Century.

As criminology continues to be inspired by the changing nature of warfare and what this means for the study of criminal behaviours, threat is now increasingly addressed in more globally expansive ways (Degenhardt 2013; Lea 2015; Loader & Percy 2012). Whilst this transformed conception of endangerment is to be welcomed, the role of the soldier and what they mean for society still needs to be added to these discussions. The 20th Century was largely defined by what military strategists would often term Clausewitzian battles. War by and large was tied to national projects, and geo-strategic forms of identification i.e. going to war as a matter of national identity and allegiance, neatly marked the very contours of violence (even though victims of various proxy wars from Vietnam to Latin America might suggest a different analysis). Hence, the idea that wars were fought between nations and that the soldier embodied the defender of the realm (or national defender) has been a dominant frame for analysis. In this regard, as Clausewitz (1989) once suggested, war was assumed to be the failure of politics. It was the result of irresolvable political crises that demanded the soldiers leave the barracks. Soldiers as such were only meant to appear in times of extreme crises and endangerment.

Such understandings began to unravel in the 1990's. With the advent of what Mary Kaldor (2012) called the "New Wars", our understanding of the nature and causes of violence

was transformed. As she suggested, ‘The point is . . . that the processes known as globalization are breaking up the cultural and socio-economic divisions that defined the relations of politics which characterized the modern period. The new type of warfare has to be understood in terms of global dislocation’ (cited in Evans 2013: 49). This was significant. Not only did it suggest that the lines between warfare and criminal activity were increasingly blurred. As Kaldor further explained, since the new wars involved multiple actors that operated beyond the confines of the modern nation state, the distinction between *internal* and *external* and *local* and *global* were difficult to sustain. Security as such was re-conceptualised. This was enshrined in the United Nations commitment to *human security* as the principle referent for peace and justice (Evans 2013).

Echoing this commitment, in 2002, Geoff Hoon the Defense Secretary at the time explained that the UK would be part of the multi-national peacekeeping force in Kabul and between 3000 and 5000 troops (100 of which would be Royal Marine Commandos) would be deployed in that role (BBC Talking Point 2002). In July 2011 the MoD outlined their *Building Stability Overseas Strategy*, which stated that UK would ‘promote stability and prosperity in countries and regions where its interests are at stake’ (MoD 2011). The strategy explains:

War has been described as “development in reverse”. Vital infrastructure – roads, schools, hospitals, factories – can be destroyed. It is too dangerous for children to go to school, parents to earn a living, or expectant mothers to reach a midwife. The private sector grinds to a halt or is distorted by a war economy. Communities are torn apart and people are

left struggling to cope with debilitating insecurity, and often with the psychological trauma inflicted by terror and sexual violence. (MoD 2011:7 para 2.2)

A number of scholars were however notably troubled by the way in which war was being reconceived. Not from the perspective that the new wars empirically presented a new and novel departure. That much was agreed. Rather, that in response – notably through the union of security and development – how new impetus was given to Western forms of violent intervention in the name of humanitarian principles. Starting with the work of Duffield (2007), who urged us to consider how the merger between development and security as now inherent to any understanding of war, alternative explanations were put forward showing how the development of the Global South is now considered essential for Western security. Dillon & Reid (2009) consider this to be the contrast between geopolitics and biopolitics and an assurance that the waging of war can be understood and justified *in the name of life* – which is how liberal forms of rule are realised. Capturing the essence of this, for Evans (2013), all this pointed to the advent of a *Liberal Way of War*, which fully set aside 20th Century principles of sovereign integrity.

Whilst authors such as Evans, Duffield, Dillon & Reid, pay considerable attention to the contested human dimensions to warfare, along with its impact on global and local regimes of governance little attention is paid in their work to the governance and agency of soldiers. What the changing nature of war has meant in terms of the role of the soldier, their functions and how those changes affect how they are perceived in broader society is not considered. In this regard, while there is a tendency with the Liberal War literatures to rightly emphasize the changing nature of war and the need to address its impact at the level of life itself, there are notable gaps in the literature concerning the lives of soldiers

and what qualities they reveal pre, during and post-deployment. Having said this, it is still possible to take some valuable insights from this body of work:

1. The soldier deployed for these wars is no longer a defender of the last resort; they positively occupy the frontlines of interventionist projects that are tasked with democracy promotion and creating better futures.
2. The collapse of the demarcations between inside/outside and so forth does not only suggest a rethinking of politics, it demands rethinking about war and violence as embodied through the soldier who continues to be violent in peacetime.
3. The experience of being a soldier and the qualities that they identify with pre, during and post deployment is another narrative in the Liberal War literatures as they emphasize the changing nature of war and the need to address its impact at the level of life itself.

The metaphorical significance of this changing image of the soldier is all too apparent – especially in the complex interchange between discourses of warfare and discourses of criminology. War and crime are discursive metaphors, which arguably now more than ever, have come to share the same political and juridical spaces. It is well documented that one cannot escape the war metaphor in criminological discourse (Garland, 1996; Ruggiero, 2005; Steinert, 2003). It is a rhetorical device that speaks of ways in which to manage social problems, namely crime, in a way that bestows upon ‘them’ the ‘enemy’ status. Warfare thus understood points to a wider ‘process of civilisation’ (Steinert, 2003: 265), thereby implicating the disciplinary and punishment framework. As a result ‘the war on drugs’, ‘war on trafficking’, ‘war on poverty’, and of course the ‘war on terror’ allow for the governing of apparent social ill (Aas 2013). Once the ‘enemy’ is identified, so it becomes a problematic imperative that instils a certain anxiety and fear, an elusive

‘other’ and deviant group that must be governed and its associated risks managed.

What is perhaps not so well documented in criminology is that warfare relies more and more frequently upon metaphors of criminal justice. This is realised through a language that situates and perceives insurgents not as actors of war but rather as criminals. This tendency has in fact been slowly maturing for some time. Earlier examples can be found for instance in a language constructed around the need to ‘punish’ or react to illegal behaviours are evident in both the first Gulf war, Kosovo (Degenhardt 2010) and in Northern Ireland. It is perhaps now more apparent however in public and political rhetoric, exemplified with notions such as to ‘bring terrorists to justice’ and ‘eliminate the threat that they pose’ (Blair, 2001). Inviting once more an elusive ‘other’ that must be governed and its risk managed. But where should the risk be managed? And by whom? In this altered security terrain, the management of the risks of violence cannot be divorced from asking where ‘war’ takes place. From the perspective of governance, to ask “by whom” is to also consider how both the military and police respond or find their new function. To make sense of this, one must try to untangle epistemological constructions of inside/outside, times of war/times of peace, and domestic/international.

The criminogenic consequences of globalising processes were brought into sharp focus after 9/11 (Aas 2012). Such consequences illustrated how criminologist’s attachments to conventional and modernist demarcations such as inside and outside was inadequate beyond the university walls that aim to make sense of them (Loader & Percy 2012). Such a debate is similar to earlier teachings in IR through Walker (1993) and many of his contemporaries who have questioned the meaning ascribed to physical state borders and the limits of epistemological limit conditions, which further unsettles neat explanations of space and time. The difference for criminological projects is that they begin (perhaps

understandably due to its juridical framing) with a focus on an altered 'inside' and its consequence for security, risk and justice (Aas, 2012; Holmqvist 2012). Whilst IR theorists begin with reference to the outside – if only to state post 9/11 that the outside 'no longer appears as a credible political referent – geo-politically or intellectually' (Evans 2013: 2), criminology retains its commitment to fixed legal notions of power and hence deal with war as an *excessive* political category that needs to be brought *back into order*.

Globalising processes are nevertheless increasingly rendering ideas of the inside and outside less apparent and certain. Borders in fact have always been porous (Bauman 2002). Just as the notion of territory was reconfigured post 9/11, epistemologies of war that are predicated upon linear territorial modelling have lost much credibility. With the collapse in spatial awareness between modernist constructs of inside and outside, risks no longer have points of origin. The conception of war as such is invariably transformed as fundamental questions of spatial integrity are undermined (Holmqvist, 2012). This does not mean to say that questions of spatial integrity are no longer important or of issue. On the contrary, in our radically interconnected world, all problems are "internal problems" (Bauman 2002). Projects that begin therefore with reference to "the inside" such as criminology are invariably drawn into important discussions about security, and how this new problematisation of war implicates criminal justice policy the moment it is put into practice. Given the wider political significance, upon this altered terrain the reach of criminal justice policy is interrogated as a problem of policing and an attempt to protect the domestic through international designs (Kraska, 1993; 2001; 2007; Sparks, 2006; Krasman, 2007; Loader and Percy, 2012).

War and crime are now both tasked with the management of an 'enemy'. But how that management takes place is a complex and politically fraught affair. In Foucault's (2007)

lectures *Society Must Be Defended* it is proposed that both crime and war work through the identification of a selected group of 'others' that appear as a distinct population; whether they are a dangerous class or group or those outside of the nation state. Based upon identifying and managing those stark differences, social order can be organised and maintained. Degenhardt (2013: 38) explains that it is on these very constructions that 'the continuum between war and crime rests as the facilitator of the processes of governance.' Central to this is the understanding that certain modes of governance are able to take very specific problem populations to be their referent objects, working then to manage and regulate the perceived problem with an identifiable frame with clearly set objectives.

When discourses shift our focus however to the problem of 'the enemy within' we have seen that conventional narratives that assume a simple binary distinction between us/them or good/bad binary become more problematic. All relations in fact enter into what Agamben (1998) termed a *zone of indistinction*, which poses a fundamental challenge for legal frameworks. As war is now synonymous with multiple political ambitions, strategies have developed to merge military provision with police provision and practices of war with law enforcement. This blurring has seen NATO coalition forces train Afghan Police as part of their role in occupying Afghanistan (Loader and Percy, 2012); the military employing policing tasks such as going on 'patrol' and further still, the military having an increasing role in securing the domestic arena, to which the Olympics in London 2012 is testament. This unsettling for example is demonstrated through the Afghan civilian that is both an identity to protect, and provide security for, whilst at the same time being an identity of threat (Loader and Percy, 2012). In a similar way, one must question not only if terrorists are actors of war or criminals, but also if veterans are actors

of war or crime fighters? The implications as Ryan (2013) explains, has seen conventional limits concerning roles and functions turned into strategic linkages.

Walklate and McGarry (2015a; 2015c) have added to this debate by drawing together key criminological and sociological works about globalization, state crime, legality issues, human rights regressions, social control to meaningfully consider the sorts of criminal acts committed and experienced in conflict zones and what that means for domestic criminal justice policy. Power is considered the focal point upon which to make sense of methodological challenges, policy formation, and conceptualizations of risk in this space - what they refer to as the “post 9/11 moment”. A notable contribution by the authors, titled *Competing for the 'Trace'; The Legacies of War's Violences* (2015 b) is of particular significance. Here, Walklate & McGarry use photographic material to demand a new analysis of these wars. In doing so, they expose the role of the state, especially how the question of truth can be interrogated by addressing the traces of power on bodies of war, thereby posing questions about the meaning of ‘mere’ life. As yet, however, with the exception of Jabri (2012), there has been little attempt to discuss fully how this problematic ‘space’ can be understood beyond neatly defined constructions of the legal and the illegal. Efforts to make sense of this urge criminologists to interrogate these issues in such a way that theoretically untangles more purposefully war/crime, us/them, times of war/times of peace, homelands and zones of conflict.

The Violent Embodiment of Space

More recently, on the 22nd of May 2013, the murder of Fusilier Lee Rigby rendered all too clear how the war can manifest itself into domestic security issues. The murder was committed in a public display of violence by two British born males - Michael Adebolajo

and Michael Adebawale who drove into a 25-year-old Fusilier Lee Rigby, before hacking him to death in broad daylight, near Woolwich Barracks, in London. Addressing the British public via various smartphone devices (the images of which went viral) while staying at the scene of the crime, Adebawale made his intentions clear: "We swear by almighty Allah we will never stop fighting you. The only reasons we have done this is because Muslims are dying every day. This British soldier is an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. We must fight them". The dominant narrative considered the victimisation of Lee Rigby and that he had been targeted for his direct association to the British Military. Home Secretary Theresa May immediately responded by declaring that the vicious assault on the soldier was more than an individual crime but an "attack against all of us." And this murder was considered an act of terrorism which was to be sentenced as such.

Whilst Evans (2013b) considered the dangers of understanding this crime in terms of the 'terroristic' discourse, McGarry (2014) aimed to make sense of the broader profile of these young men. Claiming that this could not be considered as 'terrorism pure and simple' (McGarry 2014: 29) he explained how the lives of these young men mirrored the lives of so many convicted of a crime in England and Wales. Namely, lower socio-economic backgrounds, involvement in gangs and diagnosed mental illnesses. Broadening the critique, Walklate & Mythen (2014) asked how framing this crime in these terms obscures both the violence by the British state in Iraq and Afghanistan that Adebawale referred to, along with the ways the state constructs who is to be suspected of terrorist violence and who is not. This is but another example of a tracing of war, as they argue that the soldier is both a criminal and victim in a competition for political recognition.

Both were sentenced to life at the Old Bailey under Section 30 of the Counter-Terrorism Act 2008, which makes provision for certain mainstream offences to be considered as having a terrorism connection. Importantly, Section 30(2) states that there is a mandatory requirement for the court to decide during the case whether or not a mainstream offence has sufficient connections to terrorism to be heard in this way. If they believe this to be the case then section 30(4) makes this an aggravating factor (Crown Prosecution Service 2014). Sue Hemming, the Head of Special Crime and Counter Terrorism at the Crown Prosecution Service explained:

Under the law, terrorism is committed by a defined act designed to influence a Government, the public or an NGO for the purpose of advancing a religious, political, ideological or racial cause. This attack was always going to fail in that purpose as it served only to bring people together in shock, sympathy and solidarity.

As this case shows, the lines between the war and criminal paradigm are also being increasingly blurred in the domestic space. Indeed, whilst the charges brought against the guilty assailants focused directly on the individual details of the violence (even considering the mental state of Adebawale), as May intimated, the case needed to be inserted into a wider political framework. Such a framework was however distinctly one-sided. What the violence represented was an individual attack on the fabric of our societies. Radicalisation as such was a question of pathological deviancy or religious perversion, not the product of wider historical experiences of warfare, torturous abuse and interrogations, or racial intimidation. McGarry (2014) appreciated the significance of this:

Upon being framed as an act of terrorism the death of Fusilier Rigby as a 'conflict' between himself, his family, and those responsible for his death was quickly subsumed as the 'property' of the British State; in particular the mass media, the police and the government. Evidence of this is apparent in the way these events were reported: Adebolajowas thrust into the foreground ofthe news headlines whilst in the background Fusilier Rigby was slumped, lifeless in the road, in clear view of 'witnesses'. By framing those guilty of his murder as 'Islamists' in exception of mainstream western democratic values and the victimas a laudable member of the British military, the government objectified the former and removed the agency from the latter

Whilst the murder of Lee Rigby raises a number of challenging issues for the legal justice system, for the purposes of this study there are four issues that should be acknowledged.

- 1) Once again, through this crime we find that ideas concerning inside/outside, times of war/times of peace are far less certain in the contemporary moment. This politically motivated violence was taking place on the streets of London. Historians and terrorist experts might of course point out here that such violence doesn't actually represent such a radically new departure. The IRA could certainly draw parallels with the attacks on British Streets (see Anthony Amatrudo 2009). There does however seem to be something profoundly different from the ethno-national violence of Irish republicanism to

contemporary Islamic violence as witnessed here. Both certainly targeted the military community. But the impact upon the public and military community appears markedly different.

- 2) In terms of criminal justice, the very imaginary surrounding the violence raises a number of challenges. As McGarry further writes, ‘the grim footage was shown repeatedly in the aftermath of the event, both before and after his identity was made public, and it has since been seen throughout the world. But if the first image of Fusilier Rigby’s body is an ‘insensitive’ yet conceptualising one, the second of him in uniform becomes defining and contradictory. This soldier was targeted as a symbolic representative of state foreign policy in Iraq and Afghanistan’. Hence, for McGarry, what Woolwich demonstrates is ‘an intersection between much broader issues affecting the UK relating to crime, disorder, social inequality and war’
- 3) Following on from our Foucauldian approach and its interest in the spatial dimensions to power as understood at the level of subjectivity, this case further illustrates what we might term “the violent embodiment of space”. The political space of contest only makes sense once the conflicts between different ways of life are brought into sharp focus. This was most apparent on the streets of London – where an otherwise ordinary street became a temporary battleground between the soldier and radical extremist.
- 4) Building on from this, what makes the confluence between crime and war so interesting and difficult to untangle in the contemporary period is precisely the ways in which violent subjectivities can alter the logic of spatial environments.

Various spatial settings here from the street to the courtroom were in fact given a distinct political quality by the people who occupied them. This is just as important for understanding the lives of violent veterans. Not only do they have to confront a growing presence of radical Islam in the prison system (see chapter six and seven), their already pre-inscribed subjectivities in terms of the way they see themselves, and as perceived by others within and outside the prison system, has a profound influence on their relations (conflicting and otherwise) with those they come into contact with on a daily basis.

Once we begin to understand the politics of the spatial environments occupied by veterans in such terms, it then becomes meaningful to not only extend Foucault's work on governmentality (see chapter three) in order to account for the multiple ways in which subjectivities are marked and regulated. With the violent veteran post-sentencing occupying a concentrated spatial environment that raises challenging questions regarding their very political status, so it is incumbent upon the criminologist to attend more intimately to the "voices of veterans" as they occupy these spatial settings. Only then might we gain a fully picture of the ways in which bodies are brought to violence and shaped by its enduring presence.

Conclusion

This chapter has traced the understanding of war in criminological literatures with the aim of justifying the need for placing the narratives of veterans central to our discussions. Of principle concern here is the ways in which violence can appear as an extension of the war, or certainly needs to be investigated with that possibility in mind. The literature has been presented across two sections; those that made sense of war before 9/11 and those literatures that have emerged since. What this chapter has suggested is that as

criminology comes to terms with what war means for the discipline and perhaps more importantly what a criminological analysis may mean for understandings of war, takes us beyond abstract notions of 'us/ them'. What is surprising about current literatures is not what it says - this is important – but what it is yet to say.

Some of the most insightful criminological work here goes beyond discursive representations of criminality to explore more purposefully and sympathetically the very people that discourse represents. It is less concerned with veterans as an "object" to be studied at a distance, than as political subjects with a sense of agency. It is the voices of individuals who are implicated that are of importance, moreover how those voices disrupt our understandings of their position in society. A criminological analysis of war then can add significantly to discourses on war quite simply by employing a criminological analysis proper and speaking to violent veterans. Such ambitions requires more than to explore the literature of war that I have engaged with in this chapter. It also requires an analysis of how the veteran has been represented and governed. Using the veteranality framework introduced in chapter one the next chapter will make sense of how the problem of the violent veteran has been presented and understood thus far.

Violent veterans as a governmental problem

Introduction

Having established that criminological research is yet to foreground the political subjectivities of the violent veteran (in relation to the way they are problematized and governed), this chapter explores the dominant discourses that have come to constitute their epistemological veracity. This is essential if we are to consider the key insights that shape how veterans are governed post-conviction. The criminality of the serving soldier has been difficult to escape in recent years. The publicised images of Abu Ghraib vividly captured the problematic possibilities of “deviant” behaviours of the mobilised soldier (Lilly 2007; Hamm 2007), while claims of torture in Kenya, Malaya, Aden, Cyprus, Northern Ireland and Afghanistan have also been debated (Sinclair 2014). More recently, the sentencing of Marine A for the unlawful killing of an Afghan insurgent was powerful in continuing to unsettle the preferred image of the upstanding British military personnel. Yet, despite an increased awareness in the numbers of veterans serving a sentence for violence, along with the criminological developments explored in chapter two that have partly shifted intellectual debates, the study of the governance of violent veterans in light of the changing security situation often escapes critical analysis.

One of the principal intentions for the thesis, as explained in chapter one, sets out to connect the criminology of war literatures to broader discourses that have constructed the violent veteran as a problem in need of governance to further our understandings of war and rehabilitation. Building on from the previous chapters concerns with situating

the violent veteran into contemporary academic debates, this chapter now attends in more detail to the analytical and theoretical framework I have elected to term “veteranality”. In doing so, the chapter will specifically address the second research question:

2. How is the violent veteran framed as a distinct category for legal forms of governance?

This chapter makes sense of the dominant discourses that underwrite the governance of the violent veteran. Once the restrictions felt by governance literatures have been detailed, this is a discussion which provides an analysis of that discourse using four key tools offered by Governmentality theorists (Dean, 2009, Foucault, 1989a; 1989b; 1991; Millar and Rose 2008). **Note:** When choosing to engage with governmentality literature and not the literature on the governance of offending populations (broadly speaking or for specific groups), the veteran and indeed their violence are called into question beyond the confines of the criminal justice system. Although Millar and Rose (2008) and Dean (2009), point to how understandings of Governmentality can aid in our analyses of ‘problem populations’, those populations tend to be examined from the perceptive that *the conduct of their conduct* is subjectified and governed throughout society. Mindful of this, an alternative framework ‘veteranality’ (introduced in chapter 1) will be detailed, which concentrates its investigation on the criminality of the veteran and the legal response to it - whilst acknowledging that this framework would be useful to analysis other populations of veterans, for example homelessness. It also should be noted that lines between the convicted veteran and veterans more generally cannot be separated as easily as we might think, in fact, as we will see in chapters five, six and seven, how veterans understand themselves (research aim 1) and how they are understood

(research aim 2) are based upon perceptions of how veterans are subjectified throughout society – and so an extra tension emerges which cannot be ignored.

Concerned then with the specific framework of criminal justice that places the veteran amid governmental processes, this chapter is presented across five sections. Firstly, I offer a brief note on the current political climate, mapping the contemporary policy landscape of veteran offenders. I then detail how I understand governance and how Foucault's governmentality thesis allows for a more contemporary interrogation of the processes through which veterans are governed by acknowledging relations of power. Particularly instructive are the ways in which governmentality permits an understanding that is attentive to the multiple actors that are involved in security regimes. Informed by Foucault, this approach moves beyond reductionist understandings of architectures of power, to address the complex ways in which knowledge about veterans are formed and the multiple claims made upon their bodies. The chapter then continues to show how veterans disrupt normative processes of criminal justice referring to what appears to be a crisis of governance. The chapter concludes by showing how veteranality provides a critical criminological alternative to the understandings of veterans as a governmental problem.

The Veteran Offender: A Contemporary Problem

Since 2008 a profound change in the *governmentalisation* of veteran offenders has taken place. Acting at the time as the Assistant General Secretary for Napo (2008), Harry

Fletcher proposed that there were over 20,000¹⁴ former military personnel serving sentences in the criminal justice system. Working with this new insight and knowledge, all national newspapers reported the problem with provocative headlines such as the Guardian claiming that the team working with Fletcher at NAPO had ‘Revealed: the hidden army in UK prisons’ (Travis 2009). Whilst the criminality of veterans was not a new phenomenon, indeed clusters of academic research can be seen to interrogate this problematic in war and post-war periods (Brown, 2011; Bonger 1916; Cornil 1951; Hakeem 1942; Hamon 1918), this move constructed the violent veteran as a political category and their identification as a distinct problem marked a new departure in terms of criminal justice categorisation and political framing. A series of awareness raising campaigns followed which quickly became accompanied by pockets of social scientific research and grassroots initiatives to address this ‘new’ offending category (Treadwell, 2010; Howard League 2011; MacManus *et al* 2013, Murray 2013, 2014). This consciousness led to an announcement on 11 January 2014, by the Secretary of State for Justice, Chris Grayling, that the Ministry of Justice were conducting a rapid evidence assessment (REA) into the rehabilitative needs of ex-Armed Services Personnel convicted of criminal offences resulting in a custodial or community sentence (Ministry of Justice 2014).

To engage with the governmentalisation of subjects is, as Pat O’Malley and Mariana Valverde (2014) explain, to address the relationship between the criminal law and the scientific knowledge which increasingly shapes it. In a Foucauldian sense, an analysis of governmentalisation should aim to make sense of the ways in which the criminal law and

¹⁴ These figures have been contested, a debate I have had elsewhere – see Murray 2014.

criminal justice policy operate as techniques of governance and crucially how the law is entangled with other institutions of governance (Foucault 1981). This is an important perspective for those considering the ‘veteran offender’ – not least because to be a veteran is not a criminal offence, a category of diversity for offending populations, nor an official indicator of risk. What is more, in England and Wales, there is still no national policy for managing veterans in the criminal justice system and even the most ambitious of plans are only calling for a ‘skeletal framework’ (Probation Institute 2015). The governance of the veteran offender then speaks to a broader network of power, beyond the law, that assemble to reform him¹⁵ and a more complex rationale for his identification in a criminal justice framework.

Pointing to a complex network of power relationships that bring together the military/civic, political/juridical, family/state, public/private, academics/media, practitioners/commentators in strategic ways, this chapter attends to the discourses that constitute epistemologies about this rather unique group of offenders. It is argued that Foucault’s (1989a; 1989b; 1991) ‘governmentality’ provides significant analytical tools to interrogate how the discourses that have emerged function politically to determine subjectivities and governmental intervention. Addressing specifically the ways in which governmentality allows us to take into account the multiple actors involved within the networks of security regimes, it foregrounds the complexities and tensions inherent to any governance project. In doing so, it becomes clear that criminological voices are rarely cited by those charged with the governance of veterans and the lived realities of veterans who are identified by their military past in the criminal justice system also remain marginal.

¹⁵ To date male veterans who commit a crime have been the focus of criminal justice policy.

Thus, whilst this call for better rehabilitation might be seen as progressive as premised on the understanding that some veterans struggle to reintegrate, it was glaringly obvious from the report that criminological works were sparsely cited. This follows a very familiar pattern, as McGarry and Walklate (2011) note, with dominant representations of the problems posed by veterans overwhelmingly explained in terms of mental impairment, which is often framed as Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). A similar narrative was (re)produced and reinforced through this REA; adding further scientific validation to psychological approaches in explaining the persistence of veteran crimes. And of course, ways we can address them.

The REA is very explicit in terms of what its “key findings” set out to address through various degrees of moderation, as the prevalence of psychological and personal needs are all too apparent. Prioritised here are issues of mental health, which considers a number of distinct yet interrelated problems such as depression and suicide, PTSD, and adjustment and identity issues. These are accompanied by concerns with drug and alcohol abuse that are seen to exacerbate the problems. Most revealing here are the endorsements given to the report on the British Governments website which accompanies the official press release. Alongside comments from Justice Secretary Grayling, and leading advocate Stephen Phillips QC, prominence is given to the supportive words of Professor Neil Greenberg, the Royal College of Psychiatrists Lead on Military and Veterans Health, who spells out clearly the way in which the problem is framed:

The recently published review into veterans in the criminal justice system is a most welcome document which appears to have resulted from appropriate consultation and has consequentially reached logical and evidence based

conclusions. The recommendations of the report, if implemented as presented, should lead to the small proportion of veterans who come into contact with the criminal justice system being helped to access a wide range of supportive services which should improve their life trajectories with consequential benefits for them, their families and for the rest of society. In particular, by addressing their welfare and mental health needs effectively, it seems likely that their risk of reoffending will be much reduced (ref).

Discourse thus continues to emerge about the violent veteran, that comes to know him through various forms of statistical designs (as explored in chapter one) that specifically address mental faculties or issues (Dandaker *et al* 2003; Greenberg *et al* 2011; Iverson *et al* 2005; MacManus *et al* 2013; van Staden *et al* 2007). This is especially evident as matters of the 'self' remain the focal point (Sherman 2010; MacManus & Wessley 2013). This knowledge of self is then used to develop technologies than can improve the veteran. To approach violence from a position of 'the self' frames the convicted veteran as vulnerable in such ways that suggests their position is a product of their individual experience of war. Altogether absent from the REA (perhaps obviously) is the possibility that the violence of veterans might be seen as an extension of the war itself. The consequences of this are profound and have shaped the research aims for this thesis (see chapter one). Indeed, as I have argued elsewhere, overcoming this is a necessary first step if we are to even entertain the possibility of constructing the violent veteran as political category (Murray 2016 c).

Placing veterans into the criminal justice process

To actually make sense of the significance of designating veteran offenders as a violent category, there is a need to understand the everyday working practices of delivering and administering justice in the UK. Since 2008 a profound change in the governmentalisation of veteran offenders has taken place. Acting at the time as the Assistant General Secretary for NAPO, Harry Fletcher said ‘it is a grave concern that over 20,000 former military personnel are now in the criminal justice system. There is overwhelming evidence that support is not available of sufficient calibre when soldiers leave the service’¹⁶. Working with this new insight and knowledge, all national newspapers reported the problem with provocative headlines such as the Guardian claiming that the team working with Fletcher at NAPO has ‘Revealed: the hidden army in UK prisons’ (Travis 2009). These claims not only held the MoD to account for and analysed the processes and support they offer for those leaving the forces, the MoJ was also brought to the debate as questions as to whether the actors involved in administering justice were in fact equipped with the skills and resources to deal with the aftermath of war (Murray 2014b)? And indeed, further still, whether the criminal justice system was even the place to address issues relating to trauma¹⁷? Despite these concerns, the criminal justice system quickly became tasked with responding to this *new* offending population. Whilst, as was demonstrated in chapter two, the criminality of veterans was not a new phenomenon – their identification as a distinct problem marked a new departure in terms of criminal justice categorisation and political framing. During the course of this project, the exact sites, which address the veteran status of the offender, have gradually developed from the Veterans in Custody

¹⁶ www.express.co.uk/news/uk/129789

¹⁷ A debate I have had elsewhere – see Murray (2014a), Murray (2014b)

Support provision (VICS) through Probation arrangements such as Veteran Support Officers (VSO's) to courts and most recently custody suites.

Before detailing the criminal justice process as experienced by those veterans who pass through it, it is important to point out that there are two different relationships to the military that are considered once a deviant act has occurred – those of serving soldiers and ex-armed forces. Understanding the different involvements of actors that come into play at the point of arrest for these two categories is essential as we move to make sense of the 'voices' of veteranality. The necessity of understanding serving soldiers in a project about veterans is crucial. Not all participants or 'veteran offenders' enter the criminal justice system as a veteran. For some individuals, it is *only upon* entering the criminal justice system and being dishonourably discharged from their service that the label "veteran" is applied. The veteran status in these circumstances as such has negative connotations, and as we will go on to see in chapter six, it is for such reasons that VPs often reject the veteran label and wish to disassociate themselves from its usage. Typically this happens if soldiers are sentenced to over six months as a consequence of their offence (Gatekeeper). Such points of contention and organisational relations oblige us to understand three different processes as they apply to offenders affiliated to the military.

1. ***The serving soldier who is discharged, cautioned or sentenced to less than six months custody.*** In these cases military personnel are represented by the military and often taken back to their base to be addressed by their commanding officer or a military tribunal (E0109 Procedure – military personnel)¹⁸. Note:

¹⁸ The E0109 procedure explains that the police can either deal with military personnel as they would with civilians or

whilst these soldiers are not directly implicated in this project or veteran offender policy – young men may have gone through this process in the past and often referred to this and themselves as repeat offenders who on this last occasion ‘went too far’ (see chapter six).

2. ***The serving soldier who is sentenced to more than six months custody.*** In these cases military personnel are represented by the military up until the point of sentencing. At the point of judgement the military representatives will file for dishonourable discharge. It is then, in the eyes of policy makers and criminal justice professionals that he or she assumes a veteran status – or more specifically a veteran offender status. To be a veteran designates that they are no longer a member of HM Forces.
3. ***The veteran*** who when an offence is committed has already left their service, and as a result they are not represented by military personnel at any point of the criminal justice process. Whilst there is a marked institutional separation here as they no longer appear as a problem that demands military representation and judicial support, they are nevertheless worked upon through imaginaries of what their past life as a soldier must have been. And how those experiences characterise them and their offence.

Categories two and three above exemplify the status of the participants of this research and of those eligible for veteran offender services. With this in mind and for the purposes of clarity in respect to the governance of veterans, it is now necessary to briefly detail the processes through which the category of the veteran offender is properly assumed.

Arrest: At the point of arrest the police exercise their power in response to alleged criminal activity. It is the criminal act at this stage that identifies the individual, along with their name, date of birth and address. At this stage whether or not an arrestee is a soldier or veteran is irrelevant to the process of justice working upon him. He or she is a suspect and a problem for domestic policing.

Custody Suite: Upon reaching the Police station, personal details are taken by custody suite staff and it is at this point that an individual military status is captured. In the UK, custody suites management is now the domain of the private security company G4S. Giannangeli (2012) claimed that more than 100,000 veterans passed through police custody suites that year. In the Cheshire area, which we are reminded is the host area for this project, Live at Ease were tasked with early intervention casework with veterans (Phillips QC MP 2014).

For the serving soldier, their service number is taken and Commanding Officer notified which starts the process of military representation. In the instance where the offence is to be addressed by a civilian court, military personnel accompany defendants in that juridical process. For the veteran, since QC MP Phillips report (2014), arrestees should be asked if they have served in the armed forces. Whilst data is not yet available on this process here an identification of military past may begin to shape their legal status as they are detained. To identify the veteran at this stage is considered crucial if the criminal justice system are to be proactive in reducing the offending of veterans. As with all diversionary techniques in the criminal justice system it is believed that to provide to support in those initial contacts with the police that may not lead to a conviction is crucial (often offenders are discharged in these early stages). Grayling (2015) proclaimed:

We will identify veterans at the earliest opportunity, so that we can take a more tailored approach to help them turn away from crime. This support will extend to offenders' families, who also feel the sacrifices made by our service men and women.

At this stage veterans are also subject to an illegal substance screening and offered contact with a psychologist. At this stage veterans will also be put in touch with a solicitor. The veteran is already embedded here is a complex interplay of power relationships, resources and aims. For private companies, he may be a unit of funding and his reform may have a financial reward as a result of Payment by Results schemes. For those in the legal profession (his solicitor) his veteran status will shape their defence of him should he go to court. With psychologists now placed in each custody suite, it is the veteran's psychological profile that appears to be the key issue to be assessed and addressed.

Court: The court process includes a first appearance to determine plea, bail and remand. First appearance in the magistrate court will decide whether or not defendant are remanded in custody or granted bail to await trial. At the stage defendants will also be read the charges against them and asked if they plead innocent or guilty. An innocent plea is referred to trial whilst a guilty plea is referred to sentencing. Since April 2015 information about military status is collected and collated by the court 'Liaison and Diversion' programme for veterans (Grayling 2015). Prior to this information was collected on a PREM 1 form and varied across localities (with some not obtaining this information in court at all).

In the event of a trial, whether or not the defendant is still serving is highly significant. For the serving soldier, the appointed military legal team draws upon character references and their worth to the service noted. Whereas for veterans, their legal

representation are encouraged to speak to veteran status in clients defence post Grayling's report (see chapter one). At the point of sentence a pre-sentence report is then produced by a probation officer, which speaks directly to military status as another form of embodiment.

Sentenced to Custody: As explained above this thesis concentrates on those who have left service or have been dishonourably discharged as a result of sentence. In consequence the sections to follow consider 'veterans' only. Since 2009, criminal justice theorists and practitioners have been forced to consider how veterans should be addressed in custody as a result of their new categorisation. Notable here has been the development of the VICS model for criminal justice practitioners, which has provided clear pathways for offender management. Importantly, here, once veteran status had been confirmed through a check of military number and service details, veteran offenders have been able to access the VICS programme support provisions, which have focussed on practical help to address vocational training, clothing, housing and family support. Veterans are further encouraged to share their experiences with other veterans in prison and make resettlement plans through contact with veteran charities. It is worth emphasising that this support is not aimed at addressing trauma or offending behaviour *per se*, but a policy aimed at addressing the social needs of veterans in prison upon release.

Sentenced to Community Supervision: Having already stressed that there is no national model for working with veteran in the community (and that case management in the community is now largely privatised) I use the VSO model as an example here. I accept that other models exist but it was the VSO project that I was immersed in during

the fieldwork and this model also won the Butler Trust Award¹⁹ in 2012. As mentioned earlier, all CJP's who worked on this model were veterans themselves or from the veteran community. Hence, whilst working within a civilian jurisdiction, these professionals also spoke with a military voice. Veterans were told that they would have a 'veteran support officer', which was an offender manager who has trained in veteran affairs. Noting that the Royal British Legion (RBL) provided the training, veterans were also reminded of the historical connotations of what it means to be a veteran. The RBL was established after the First World War and since has ran the poppy appeal to remember sacrifice of military personnel and their families²⁰. As so many young men resist the veteran label and (as we will see), it is worth considering the impact the RBL support network has upon these dishonourably discharged young men. During sentence men were referred to psychologists, most frequently the military veteran service (IAPt NHS) and Combat Stress.

What I have sought to briefly explain here are the processes through which the veteran shifts from a military to criminal category. Much of this is dependent upon their existing status and to what extent their actions are seen to bring to reputation of the military into disrepute. As I will go on to discuss however in chapter six and seven military status alone does not guarantee leniency in the eyes of the law. On the contrary, despite to moves to recognise the problems faced by veteran offenders, the fact that their actions have reflected badly on a valued institution is often a pretext for harsher sentencing in order to "set an example". What should be clear however following this brief digression is the complex web of actors and relations that impact and shape the lived experiences of the veterans post-sentencing. They are in fact embedded in a tangled web of political

¹⁹ <http://www.butlertrust.org.uk/alan-lilly-cheshire-probation-trust/>

²⁰ <http://www.britishlegion.org.uk/about-us/our-history/>

governance that is subject to many different claims, agendas, and ambitions – none of which can be divorced from their military past, even though what returns from this past is very selectively appropriated.

A Governmental Project

‘Governance’ is now a well-established concept for writers of security, crime control and social order. Moving beyond reductionist approaches to power that once merely attended to institutional declarations and decisions i.e. politicians and governments, lawmakers and courts, it has instigated new ways for analysing more complex and dynamic relations to address the way in which power shapes the conduct of problem populations. As Trevor Jones (2012: 842) explains, in criminology, the term literally symbolises ‘attempts to promote various collective outcomes’. However, as Jones (2012) continues, whilst criminology started to use the conceptual vocabulary some time ago, the term largely made reference to police policy, and was rather ‘straightforward’ in its analysis of institutional activities. Governance, when considered in this way retained the commitment to uni-directional and top-down understandings of power and the ability to govern populations accordingly. In recent years, debates have moved to consider the privatisation of governance - what is known as the ‘Westminster Model’, which was created by Rod Rhodes (1997) to capture the activities of both state and non-state actors. Whilst this model does go some way in making sense of how veterans are governed by multiple agencies, it is too narrow in design when applied to the problem of the criminal veteran.

Governmentality, encourages us to consider the production of power and how power produces a series of realities about its subjects – a series of truths (Foucault 1989a; 1989b; 1991). Those truths represent ‘a governmental technique (in the Foucauldian

sense) to transform ideology into discourse, which then provides the legitimate authority to force through the intended agenda' (Naughton 2005: 47). This approach can lead to a better understanding of regimes of rehabilitative power. To begin an analysis such as this however it is important to understand what Foucault (1977a interview) had termed previously as the apparatus (*dispositif*):

What I am trying to single out with the term is... a thoroughly heterogeneous set consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral, and philanthropic propositions... By the term "apparatus" I mean a kind of a formation, so to speak, that at any given historical moment has as its major function the response to an urgency.

A number of scholars have outlined the importance of Foucault's analytical framework of governmentality for interrogating the governance of problem populations in a more expansive yet intimate way (Millar & Rose, 2008; Dean 1999). Whilst not in any way exhaustive of its possibilities and features it is possible to identify the following broad characteristics:

- 1) Governmentality is concerned with modes of intelligibility. Namely how does a problem actually appear to be an imperative that demands a political response, and what happens to act upon that problem in ways that reveal distinct truths about the system of rule.
- 2) Rather than looking for a singular truth to questions of power and authority, governmentality looks to examine the more contested space for rule, exposing

sites of shared interest along with divergent claims regarding the best policy solution.

- 3) Moving beyond concerns with “halls of power”, governmentality gives equal value to both the systemic and subjective nature of diagrams for power. It is the political, legal, social, economic and cultural life of populations which is of concern.
- 4) Instead of seeing power as being a top-down process, governmentality tries to make sense of the multiple actors involved in regulation of problematic populations, addressing what we might term the “network of power” that brings together in a complex and dynamic way juridical approaches with other models for power.
- 5) Since governmentality is concerned with the “conduct of conduct”, it must foreground the way power addresses bodies and seeks to shape human behaviours.
- 6) Given that power is understood here to be a positive process, interventions are understood to be all about the active liberation of certain forms of subjectivity – it points in other-words to a life-politics that gets people to actually reflect upon their own actions and behaviours.
- 7) With governmental approaches taking the life of populations as being its object, it demands recognising the agency of all involved – from the agencies of rule to those whose subjectivities are being addressed.
- 8) Hence, since the governmental frame brings into focus the heterogeneous elements that connect populations to different spatial environments, it demands looking at the effects of power in ways that highlight both strategies of coercion and resistance.

Mindful of this, this chapter will now develop a governmental framework to add more depth to key stages in the governmental process post-sentencing and which voices speak on behalf of the convicted veteran. The reference to 'voice' here is not to simply refer to the circulation of ideas but to attend to those ideas and opinions that inform government policy and public debate, as they appear to be authentic and authoritative. To search for the voice is to make sense of the different discourses that constitute the discursive knowledge of this identity and what is driving them. Of course, as the governmentality approach would suggest, such voices are multiple, conflicting and subject to mediation through relations of power. What matters is to identify through the *key stages*, which voices break through to dominate the discursive framing of a particular problem, how they subsequently function in terms of mobilising resources and shaping policy decisions, along with identifying which voices are marginalised and excluded.

Governmentality: A Tool Box

Understanding here, as Foucault (1974) suggested, that critical theory is more like a "tool-box"²¹ that allows us to conduct an analysis of practices of power, governmentality is employed here through a series of tools that consciously attend to this unique form of criminal justice governance. Those tools are:

²¹ Foucault (1974) stated: 'I would like my books to be a kind of tool-box which others can rummage through to find a tool which they can use however they wish in their own area... I would like [my work] to be useful to an educator, a warden, a magistrate, a conscientious objector. I don't write for an audience, I write for users, not readers.'

- ✓ **Subjectification:** For this analysis, subjectification refers to power related questions such as how and why individuals (in this case violent veterans) are constructed as subjects on account of whether their conformity/deviancy fits the normal order of things. New forms of subjectivity are produced and created in a way that allows power to be exercised through the individual and as a result of ascribing attributes the individual becomes a subject (Foucault 1982).

- ✓ **Technologies:** Once a problem has been identified, interventions are required which concern the management of the conduct of individuals – they are the means of reform. Technologies point specifically to those who are tasked with the governance of problems (both the governed and the governors), the techniques of intervention (policy and initiatives for example), the studies that provide scientific veracity (risk assessments or cognitive programmes etc.), onto the institutions in which these processes come together, namely, the probation office, the prison, the psychiatrist appointment and so forth (Rose and Millar 2008).

- ✓ **Teleologies:** This tool encourages us to consider the ends of technologies and the temporal dimensions of power. What is the aim or, to what valorisation are policies wedded? Almost paradoxically, for the veteran offender, this tool also points to a politically motivated start point for analysis for example does the ‘veteran’ label mean that policies are asked to address pre-conscription, military training or warfare instead of the criminal act? Teleologies also more conventionally refer to the desired affect of interventions – what Millar & Rose (2008: 29) identify as those optimistic technologies that emerge to ‘reform reality’.

- ✓ **Resistance:** – To consider resistance is to attend to the multiple ways in which subjects resist the processes designed for their conduct. It is also to understand which voices are resisted by the governmental framework.

The veteran offender is subject to the processes that these tools illuminate - they can be considered the key stages of governance, each create the space in which we come to know them as problem populations. Each stage produce and reproduce veteran offenders as a group, a criminal population, a political category, and ultimately a military subjectivity.

Governmentality and the Veteran Offender

What do we realise when we employ these tools to the governmentalisation of the veteran offender since 2008? To begin then we must account for those processes that make “intelligible” the actions upon others to ensure “the conduct of conduct” in the name of desired objectives (Foucault 1991). As new forms of subjectivity are produced and created power is exercised through the individual, and as a result, the individual becomes a subject that is both knowable (i.e. verifiable) and amenable to changes in behaviour. The veteran already embodies a particular subjectivity, upon arrest however and more so upon conviction, he becomes something else – a veteran offender. Each stage of the criminal justice process, through to eventual release, in fact rests upon the imposition of new laws of truth upon the body, each requiring different interventions. For Foucault (1977b) once an offender is sent to prison, they expose the relationship between law and delinquency. A focus on delinquent or deviant behaviour is important, for in consideration of the crime ‘it is not so much his act as his life that is relevant in characterising him’ (Foucault, 1977b: 251). Already marked with certain identities, which derive from the subject potentialities, governmental power as such intervenes upon the subject in order to encourage him to manage and internalise his own conduct

and behaviours in relation to previous notions of self-hood (Borch 2015), i.e. a military identity.

According to Foucault (1989a), the very process of governmentality begins with the realisation there is a *problem* to be addressed and how behaviours and subjects become a problem. For the veteran offender, Napo's (2008) claim that there were currently 20,000 serving a sentence in England and Wales was the first serious attempt to render the problem "intelligible" and through these claims the veteran was reconstructed in the public imagination as a (potential) criminal. Whilst the existence of military personnel in prison was already known (See Emsley 2013), following Napo's report the criminal veteran became a problem that could no longer be ignored. They need to be governed. This became more urgent as they attracted increasingly sensationalising media attention. For example, The Telegraph (2008) wrote of the 'thousands of war veterans were locked up' (Leach, 2008), whilst one Daily Mail Reporter pointed out that that there were now 'more armed forces personnel serving a sentence in prison than serving in Afghanistan'. Such stories were politically exacerbated as individual cases of violence committed by veterans were published more frequently, offering more detail on the seriousness of their crimes (Cheston 2015; Malvern 2012; Brooke 2012).

As knowledge about veteran offender's circulated, so the category soon became normalised i.e. part of everyday discussion, and thus animated the calls for more scientifically validating insight into their problems through various modes of knowledge production. Just as Foucault (1977a) reminded us above, subjects must be understood before they can be improved. A surge of research thus emerged to make sense of these offenders and their crimes. But, whose voices then have come to represent the 'criminal veteran' and in turn allow state authorities to intervene? Although, in reality these voices

are extremely difficult to separate as they feed into one another it is important to discuss them separately to illustrate their different purposes, objectives and methods. Without over simplifying, the research that emerged was dominated by two distinct voices - the *political* and the *psychological*. It should be pointed out here that whilst there are tensions between these approaches, in reality, these voices are extremely difficult to separate as they feed into one another.

The *Political Voice* has been instructive in constructing the veteran offender as a criminal problem. What is meant by the 'political' in this context refers specifically to the state and non-state actors that raise awareness of the violent veteran in ways that ultimately limit any serious critique of war. Crucially, from the Ministry of Defence (DASA, 2009; 2010) and Ministry of Justice (Lyne & Packham 2014) onto non-government organisations, veteran charities and lobbyists, multiple actors have shown their concern with the violent veteran as a problem population that has to be understood through a domestic frame. Once the problem is agreed in these terms, in-so-far as a consensus is reached that there is a problem of domesticity which needs to be addressed in one way or another, these voices are then in the business of suggesting the most appropriate and necessary forms of intervention. Such voices then place the criminality of veterans onto an agenda. Suggestions of what that intervention should look like and where it should be focused, do however often conflict with one another.

The *Psychological Voice* refers to those attempts to quantify the veterans experience and add intellectual weight to policy by foregrounding questions of mental health and welfare. To date these projects have provided the political voices with criminogenic pathways for the veteran and solutions of how to (re)shape and improve him by specifically addressing individual pathologies (MacManus *et al* 2013). As such, this

discourse provides ways of knowing the violent veteran through statistical designs (Dandaker *et al* 2003; Greenberg *et al* 2011; Iverson *et al* 2005; MacManus *et al* 2013; van Staden *et al* 2007) and quantifiable notions of the 'self' as a psychological category, (Sherman 2010; MacManus & Wessley 2013) as the empirical truth about the veterans is established. What we might term the "pathologisation of the veteran" reduces violence here to matters of individual deviancy. Mental health concerns thus replace any political critique as concerns about military experience are turned back upon the soldier in the form of personal failure in one way or another. It is interesting to note that many of the studies, which shape opinions, actually draw upon research conducted in the United States and speak of "individual triggers" ranging from personal experiences of war-time trauma, onto issues such as substance abuse, along with the lived outcomes such as homelessness, parenting and marital breakdown (Jaycox & Tanielian 2008). The violent disorder of veterans is not assumed to be normal for military personnel. It is something that goes undetected. Like all pathologies, it lurks in the dark.

The third stage concerns the publication and dissemination of research findings. It is upon these findings the truths that formed. The largest part of the research conducted has functioned to make sense of the complexity of this lived experience by reducing this problem to a series of quantified probabilities that are amenable to prescribed correctional policies. The problem must be manageable through intervention in order to be considered a problem in this context at all. What matters here is the ways in which these findings have assumed the position of authority, and through them a series of truths or what Millar & Rose (2008: 15) term 'formalised knowledge' proves attainable. The first truth to emerge in this context was that veterans' criminal profiles were predominantly violent and this can be attributed to both the political and psychological voice. For

instance, the first national inquiry into former armed service personnel by the highly influential Howard League for Penal Reform found no evidence that military experience makes an individual more likely to end up in custody than members of the general public. The violence must be attributed to something other than militarism. The report did find however that those with military experience were twice as likely to be convicted of a sex offence as civilians and more likely to engage in violent offending more generally (Howard League 2011).

Following on from this, a study published in the *Lancet* found that young men who have served in the armed forces in Britain are three times more likely to be convicted of a violent offence than their non-combatant peer group. The report concluded that of their sample of 2,700 young men under 30 with military experience 20.6% had a violent conviction and that the figure was 6.7% for their civilian counterparts (MacManus *et al* 2013). Both projects also suggested that veterans struggled with family relationships, accommodation, employment, finances, substance use and of course mental health fed into all of this as well as military culture. Based upon these findings veterans' criminogenic pathways are established that are very similar to criminogenic pathways generally (Ministry of Justice 2013). Whilst this call for better rehabilitation might be seen as progressive as premised on the understanding that some veterans struggle to reintegrate, criminological works were sparsely cited from this report. This follows a very familiar pattern, as McGarry and Walklate (2011) note, dominant representations of the problems posed by veterans are overwhelmingly explained in terms of mental impairment, which is often framed as Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). A similar narrative was (re)produced and reinforced through this REA; adding further scientific

validation to psychological approaches in explaining the persistence of veteran crimes. And of course, ways we can address them.

The REA is very explicit in terms of what its “key findings” set out to address through various degrees of moderation, as the prevalence of psychological and personal needs are all too apparent. Prioritised here are issues of mental health, which considers a number of distinct yet interrelated problems such as depression and suicide, PTSD, adjustment and identity issues. These are accompanied by concerns with drug and alcohol abuse that are seen to exacerbate the problems. Most revealing here are the endorsements given to the report on the British Governments website which accompanies the official press release. Discourse thus continues to emerge about the violent veteran which comes to know him through various forms of statistical designs that specifically address mental faculties or issues (Dandaker *et al* 2003; Greenberg *et al* 2011; Iverson *et al* 2005; MacManus *et al* 2013; van Staden *et al* 2007). To approach criminality from a position of ‘the self’ frames the convicted veteran as vulnerable in such ways that suggests their position is a product of their individual experience of war.

The fourth stage points to a series of interventions or technologies that are created in response to the pathologisation of the veteran’s violence. For Rose & Millar (2008), both the accumulations of those individuals who come together for the conducting of conduct and the techniques and power they require are important. Namely, subjects are present (both the governed and the governors), as are techniques of intervention (policy and initiatives for example). To facilitate this, risk assessments are a pre-requisite, and of course the institutions in which these come together in the governance process (i.e. the probation office, the prison, the psychiatrist appointment and so forth). Yet, as explained above, despite the growing concerns and the politicisation of veterans’ crime, there is no

national model for dealing with veteran offenders. As a result the technologies are specific to locations and often ad-hoc in nature created by well-intentioned practitioners from a grass-roots position (Murray 2014) that rely on political voices to allow psychological voices to aid in their practice with the veteran offender.

The fifth stage is one of delivery – notably its privatisation. In May 2013 the government announced that they were going to ‘Transform Rehabilitation’ (MoJ 2013). In summary, this agenda split the National Probation Service of England and Wales into two. The management of offenders in the community and the involvement of probation services in prisons were as a result of this agenda to be divided between the National Probation Service (NPS) and 21 Community Rehabilitation Companies (CRC’s). The punishment of veterans (and all offenders) was effectively commoditised, for as of November 2014 the business of governance was now a contract to be won (Burke 2014). Offenders were thus to be managed according to the risk that they posed within a public/private governmental frame. High-risk cases would stay with the NPS and medium and low risk cases were now a business. While the significance of these public/private relations are yet to be fully understood, how veteran’s risk would be considered in this setting given the complexities regarding the veterans label has been pointed to (Murray 2013; Murray 2014a; Murray 2014b). Millar & Rose (2008: 29) state that to evaluate policy through a framework of governmentality requires more than assessing the policies (green papers, white papers, academic proposals and so on). It is also to consider the ‘eternal optimism that a domain or society could be administered better or more effectively, that reality, is in some way programmable’. This demands a consideration of the policies *teleology* insomuch as the governance of problem populations is not simply concerned with the here and now, but gestures towards future behaviours. As mentioned above, do veteran

offender initiatives aim to rehabilitate from the experience of combat or from the point of criminal behaviour? Added to this, if the veteran is different than a civilian upon entering the criminal justice system – is the aim for them upon leaving also different? To be a good veteran perhaps instead of a reformed offender (a civilian).

Forgotten Voices and Veteranality

Whilst some of the most insightful criminological work goes beyond discursive representations of criminality to explore more purposefully and empathetically the very people that discourse represents (McGarry & Walklate 2011; McGarry *et al* 2012; Walklate & McGarry 2015) - altogether absent in those voices that constitute epistemologies of the veteran who commits a crime are criminological voices. Another omission it would seem are the voices of veterans themselves. The consequences of this are profound. What is missing at the outset is a narrative that is less concerned with veterans as an “object” to be studied at a distance, but as political subjects with a sense of agency. It is the voices of individuals who are implicated that are of importance, moreover how those voices disrupt our understandings of their position in society. A criminological analysis of war then can add significantly to discourses of veterans crimes quite simply by employing a criminological analysis proper and giving voice to violent veterans. This can start with an analysis such as the one presented above that asks how the veteran has been presented and governed. To begin with, one might ask what critical theoretical literature might mean for understandings of the violent veteran and to note that discourses have emerged without reference to the state’s role in the construction and subsequent management of this political category. Furthermore, it produces an understanding that is blind to what Foucault (1969) termed ‘subjugated knowledge’ – the

marginalised experiences that can be found through an investigation of how veterans see themselves in these terms.

Above, we learned from Foucault's (1977a) interview a way to understand the apparatus. Importantly for our new concerns is that he continued to note that the apparatus shapes 'the said as much as the unsaid... it is also always linked to certain limits of knowledge that arise from it and, to an equal degree, condition it'. To attend to relations such as these and those knowledges that are limited – the 'unsaid', perhaps requires a different analytical framework. While "veteranality" was first coined to make sense of how the problem of the violent veteran resisted traditional processes of governance and how veteran offenders have become an offending type which means their crimes are overwhelmed by their military past (Murray 2013; 2014) – implicit in this theorising is a concept that speaks to the framing of the violent veteran as they appear as a distinct problematic population within the domestic sphere in a way that requires further exploration. Veteranality, is then, concerned with the framing of the violent veteran as they appear as a distinct problematic population within the domestic sphere. In doing so it seeks to look at the ways this offender category is constituted in order to ascertain the value of the 'veteran' identity during and after criminalisation. Specifically, it asks what happens to the veterans' military identity once they are violently entrenched yet subjectively transformed as a 'criminal'? Unlike dominant policy voices that present the veteran offender as a problem without recognising the political context to their violence, veteranality gives voice to the violent veteran.

Veteranality foregrounds VPs experiential claims in relation to power and violence. In doing so, it is concerned with the fact that many veterans explain their crimes through a vocabulary of war and military customs. It also attends to the challenging claims

regarding what this violence means for war and if these crimes are actually further evidence of the collapse between the inside and outside? And what effect do these tensions have on the formation and operation of criminal justice policy? It should also be pointed out that veteranality is not simply an application of governmentality to the problem of the violent veteran. There are a number of qualified differences that make it a very distinct framework for understanding modes of governance.

- 1) Overcoming some of the criticisms of governmentality as it appears too broad and generalizable, veteranality focuses on the specificity of the governance of the veteran community (for this work the focus is the veteran community serving a sentence in the criminal justice system – see chapter 1 and 4 for details of why this sampling strategy was chosen). It therefore offers a more nuanced and focused analytical framework that addresses specific problems as they appear to specific populations. Invariably, whilst the framework is used to deal with veteran offenders, there is nevertheless the potential to develop its use onto further problem categories such as the governance of veteran homelessness, veteran suicide and veteran substance abuse, for example.
- 2) Whilst veteranality builds upon the governmentality concerns with seeing populations as a problem to be solved, it nevertheless points to a very specific ontological category that overwhelms the normal functioning of the state. Indeed, the veteranality framework not only tries to make sense of problematic behaviours as they relate to normal civilian standards; it is further concerned with the ways in which military subjectivities also overwhelm all aspects of civil society – especially the criminal justice system and its mandates for punishment and rehabilitation.

- 3) Whereas the governmentality literatures have increasingly been influenced by the discourses of risk and its scientific modes of verification and assessments, again veteranality marks a notable departure here in terms of knowledge production. That is to say, there is an epistemological specificity to veteranality, which is premised on the belief that its subject matter is already embodied with the risks associated with being a (former) military subjectivity and how this informs potential behaviours.
- 4) Veteranality thus points to very specific occupational types whose position in the public imagination means their problems always transcend their actual job status or position in a society. Not only does this imply that the veteran community is always inscribed with experiences of being part of the military, even for those who have been dishonourably discharged, what matters is a return to the preferred image of the veteran above and beyond any civic status. Veteranality thus points to a very unique system of rule, whose outcomes aim to address the problems associated with the experience of war, without ever bringing into question the political decision to go to war or the integrity of the military.
- 5) Central here is to “give voice” to veterans by allowing them to narrate their own experiences prior, during and after war. As violent veterans expose the limits of juridical approaches to their crimes, so they add further empirical weight to the claims that times of war and peace are less easily demarcated and set apart. Embodying the normalisation of violence in new security terrains, their testimonies present significant challenges and demand a thorough rethinking of the violence of warfare in the 21st Century. A job for criminology.

The veteran undoubtedly occupies a complex position in the public's imagination. This is notably pronounced when the "war hero" is contrasted with the former soldier who engages in violence and criminality during peacetime. Amid this inherent tension between the stigmatic identity of being an offender and the traditional celebration of the veteran, it is clear that the need to understand the life of veterans has never been more pressing. A subsequent and logical outcome of this is a transformation in the narrative of the veteran offender, who struggles to make sense of the increasingly arbitrary limits of political space (or indeed that there are no limits to now be understood). This presents a new problem – one that reinforces a central argument of this chapter that the complexity of the lived experience of war and violence cannot always be understood in conversations on policy or psychiatric assessments. If we envisage violence on a continuum where distinctions between *legitimation* (war) and *illegality* (crime) are a result of the tensions in modern liberal societies (Foucault 2007), setting them apart is to suggest the ability to neatly demarcate ontological differences (Degenhardt 2013; Murray 2015). One day the hero, the next day the offender! But, if the subject of that violence refuses to recognise these separations; any governance of them is bound to be theoretically and empirically flawed. More than revealing new ways to understand the criminogenic needs of veterans, subjugated knowledge's also point to alternative ways to 'support' them in rehabilitation.

Ross McGarry and Sandra Walklate (2011) and The Howard League Report (2011) first brought the voice of the veteran into criminological imaginings – veteranality encourages research to draw on this and subsequent publications (Walklate and McGarry 2015) to question the political rationalities that claim that this behaviour is a by-product or unintended consequence of a military experience. In order to truly assess the process of subjectification that frame the violent veteran in a particular way, one must be aware of

its limits. It is essential in fact to understand that power relations within any governing regime are often contested and subject to various forms of resistance that cannot be simply reduced to rational forms of enquiry. Rose (1996: 139) states:

Within a genealogy of subjectification, that which would be infolded would be anything that can acquire authority: injunctions, advice, technologies, little habits of thought and emotion, an array of routines and norms of being human – the instruments through which being constitutes itself in different practices and relations. These infoldings are partially stabilised to the extent that human beings have come to imagine themselves as the subjects of biography, to utilise certain ‘arts of memory’ in order to render this biography stable, to employ certain vocabularies and explanations to make this intelligible to themselves.

Hadot (1992) suggests the need to exercise a necessary caution when considering *techniques of the self*. The self is not simply transformed into a trans-historical object; instead individuals understand and relate to themselves in many different and conflicting ways. Giving voice to veteran’s demands giving a forum for them to express counter-views that challenge the imposition of fixed identities. It is to harness their power of memory, to take seriously how they understand and narrate their plight, whilst looking for continuities and displacements in their language and stories. Why it is that violence remains so prevalent in their discussions? How do they struggle on a daily basis to reassert a sense of dignity and pride that has been seemingly denied them? Can they simply switch off from being a soldier because the tour of duty has come to a bureaucratic

halt? And what might their testimonies reveal about the tensions between politics and law in the 21st Century?

To this end, while representations of the veteran and criminality illustrate conceptual truths that allow for a legitimate government intervention, they are inadequate for dealing with the problem of the veteran today. Problematising such governance demands a dedicated analytical framework. In some sense, veteranality is an extension of governmentality, however what is striking is that the veteran transgresses the limits of traditional techniques of governmentality in a way that is yet to be properly considered. As the British veteran identity continues to renegotiate its place in a society that more frequently contests its value and purpose – their bodies are sites of contradiction, upon which contradictory interventions have been formed. Challenging this appears both important and necessary if the issue of veteran violence and their rehabilitation is to be taken seriously.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the experiences of the veteran continue to be reduced to psychological studies, which in turn, have a profound impact on the way they are approached as a problem in terms of criminal justice policy. This has proved limited in terms of policy and provision and academic debates. Nevertheless, as I demonstrated in chapter two, there has been a notable increase in the interest concerning the legacies of war by criminologists. My aim with this chapter has been to connect these concerns with those literatures, which allow us to rethink the governance of veterans as an offending

category. Through veteranality, the chapter has traced the development and construction of veterans as a governmental problem before proposing how this interpretation and the findings to follow can begin to foster a narrative between criminology, IR and veteran policy. In the earlier sections the literature was presented across three sections: Firstly, the current narrative on violent veterans was identified and importantly how veterans have been problematised in recent years. The chapter then moved to detail governmentality, and why it is fitting for understanding and interrogating the governance of veteran offenders. By drawing together the key features of governmentality, the veteranality framework was outlined to illustrate how it offers a specific departure in terms of its focus, ontological and epistemological concerns, onto the images that frame the debates.

By bringing together the literature that was discussed in chapter two with discussions on veteranality, the importance of giving voice to the VPs become more evident as their violence can be seen as an extension of the war. In this regard, the problem of the criminal veteran, not only explores the vulnerability of the criminal justice apparatus, further still, it requires us to investigate the complex relations between war and the pursuit of justice. It is argued that veteran's testimonies and the experiences of those charged with their rehabilitation (found in chapters five, six and seven) can provide the human experience of security on both the inside and outside, thus allowing us to gain better insight into what happens when a person moves from being a national defender to a national offender. A subsequent and logical outcome of this is a transformation in the narrative of the veteran, who struggles to make sense of the increasingly arbitrary limits of political space and how this presents a new problem – one that reinforces a central argument of this thesis that the complexity of the lived experience of veteran offenders must be addressed.

Engaging with Violent Veterans & their Governors

Introduction

As detailed in the previous chapter, the veteranality framework demands rethinking the political and subjective stakes to the violence of veterans, and the ways this suggests alternative ways for investigating processes of governance within the criminal justice system. It emphasises the qualitative over the quantitative. In this regard, the task of reintroducing the political into the criminal justice system as a means for dealing with ways the violent veteran experience criminal justice institutions, their staff, and the multiple agencies concerned with their welfare promises new insight and knowledge. The methodological processes that will now be explained in this chapter were employed to address the research questions that define this project. That is to say that the methodological processes were chosen in response to those research questions which ask specifically:

3. How is the violent veteran framed as a distinct category for legal forms of governance?
4. What are the limitations of this legally framed approach?
5. How does the veteran convicted of a violent offence in England make sense of their crime and their new identity as a criminal?
6. How is the violent veteran understood by those charged with their rehabilitation?

This chapter provides a detailed account the methodological rationale and processes employed in those engagements. Although my experience of the 'field' was open-ended insomuch as there was no preconceived agenda other than to allow veterans to narrate their own stories, and then to make sense of this narratives within the analytical framework of veteranality in ways that would allow considered reflection upon academic discussions and policy debates, there were a number of institutional protocols and procedures that needed to be followed. I adhered to these, whilst also appreciative of the fact that giving voice to VPs demands dealing with them on a human level. This is an engagement that requires dealing with difficult and challenging narratives and reflecting upon these in terms of what it means for the ways they are understood and framed. It also demands that I, as the researcher, gave ethical consideration to ways we might rethink the fraught task of researching war and violence with the necessary care of the subject.

This was also the case for the CJP's as they offered their experiences within the confines of their professional roles and the struggles of their own ethical codes of conduct. Added to this, most were, as already noted veterans themselves with their own challenges narratives to negotiate. The data generated from each interview technique has something to offer to the knowledge emerging about the violent veteran and can be read alone to that end. As I began the fieldwork, however, I soon realised how interactions with my participants and the policies in which they were immersed were often shaped by much more subtle methods. Who I was, who I met and how I was received shaped and reshaped the project. Those 'off-tape' experiences thus offer further contextualisation about the narratives and how they were obtained. Moreover, in analysing the complexities of the

environment and my own personal experience I am able to reveal additional avenues for consideration when researching veterans, which were not anticipated.

To detail this process and its complexities this chapter is presented in five sections. The chapter starts with the epistemological position guiding this research process. This involves reintroducing discourse and the subject to demonstrate how I have applied the understandings of discourse (chapter one and three) into methodological practice. There are then two explanatory sections ‘pre-data’ and ‘obtaining data’. Which explain protocols and procedures concerning research inside the criminal justice system, onto the ways in which this informs the methods employed with participants of the studies. The fourth section speaks to analytical techniques that were used once the data had been collected. Although VPs and CJP’s were interviewed using different methods (chapter one and below), the analytical technique employed was the same for all data and this was shaped by critical discourse analysis (CDA) techniques. The final section is a reflection that used my diaries to consider inter-subjective relations, and how they affected the research process.

Epistemological Position Guiding the Research Process

My epistemological position regarding issues of power and human relations both informed veteranality and the research methods selected. My understandings of discourse and subjectivity, for example, impacted directly upon my analytical framework and methodological decisions. As such, my engagement with narratives was considered alongside what Foucault (1969) referred to as *discursive formation*. Discourses are understood here to mean the selection of associated speeches or writings to provide us with a sense of meaning through linguistically attuned analysis (Martin 2008; Schiffrin

2008). Chapter one explained that for Foucault discourse was more than linguistic, it was a system of representation. Thus, narrative methodologies are often a result of the textual and discursive epistemologies embedded within social constructs – known to many as ‘linguistic ontology’ (Kings and Horrocks 2010: 215). At the heart of this textual phenomenon, narration is entrenched in the regimes of power and knowledge that make discourses available (often to the marginalisation of other explanations). Narrative inquiries of this kind address both the intricacies of textual approaches, and justify ones choice to engage in narratology. I have been informed by this Foucauldian account of discourse inasmuch as I believe it creates and defines the conditions of knowledge.

Judith Butler (2005) advises, it is not possible for the subject to know what is lost as they structure their reflection and recollection within the *regime of truth* (Butler 2005). Narratives that fall outside of these regimes are thus reshaped in terms of their relationships to the truth. Butler (2009) nuances this further by asking us to consider what it means to be immersed in contemporary history, especially when we become more attuned to the conflicting processes of recognition and resistance. As the participants narrate their experiences they which bring into sharp focus the official truth about veterans in contrast to their truths of events. Those truths are set alongside those who are then tasked to rehabilitate them in ways that add another level to the narratives which add to the complexity of the narratives produced and the power and knowledge upon which that is based.

Truth as such is understood here to always function within discursive formations. That is to say, if we are to understand the violent veteran we must understand the textuality they are sensitive towards. Michael Shapiro (2001:319) explains that if we accept our knowledge of conflict and war is informed by systems of representation (narrativity and

rhetoric for example), then we must be aware of the political processes that construct the boundaries of that knowledge. These political processes he suggests are 'contests over the alternative understandings' that represent a variety of spaces in which identities can be formed.

Narrative produced should then be analysed from a position of recognisability and how processes of intelligibility are articulated or considered as being 'true'. Discourse provides both the intelligible foundations to knowledge, along with providing suitable understandings and explanations of a subject, processes that nevertheless always prove limiting as they confine our understanding by excluding and discounting other ways of coming to know and understand the topic. To overcome this, Foucault suggested that researchers should be mindful of the difference between structuralist ideas and its emphasis on historicity; as opposed to those meanings that were not permanent, but evolutionary and open to enquiry (Foucault 1972). As I obtained narratives that disrupted dominant understandings of the veteran as often represented by governments and the MOD, I became fascinated by advice such as 'bury it', 'that doesn't answer your research question' or 'they were probably lying to you'. These raised important ethical and political questions, not least: Why are some narratives so hard and uncomfortable to face?

These experiences reinforced how discourse and power cannot be separated, and that meaning is constantly negotiated within complex power relations (Kings and Horrocks 2010). Dominant discourse become accounts of reality, for example, veterans may be the hero, the victim or the naturally violent through discursive frames existing long before they are themselves aware of such identities. The narratives offered by participants' question the originary conditions from which these frames emerge and how the *episteme*

was formed. Thus, integral to any critical enquiry of this kind is the need to explore how individual biographies are framed within the greater frame of knowledge and power (Van Dijk, T 1985). Research should not approach a problem with a theoretical position already set in place. Theory is simply an analytical tool be applied to the research problem in ways that respects the agency of that subject, and takes leave from intellectual abstractions or particular theories that seek to provide absolute truths. The real skill of interpretive research is to sift through the data produced to identify these frames and to find where and when they correlate, and to make connections between what is already known, and more important still, how they show themselves to be in excess of 'what we know' to provide a new angle of vision on a particular problem. This epistemological insight led me to employ Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to make sense of the data I obtained.

'Pre-Data': Not Just a Bureaucratic Process

'Pre-data' refers to the protocols and processes that must be addressed before any type of research in the criminal justice system can take place. I will detail the ethical process, access (and access bargaining), sampling techniques and the procedural challenges these posed for this study. I had considered these bureaucratic exercises to be part of the research itself, rendering visible in subtle and instrumental ways something altogether more critical about the subject of study. In particular they start a conversation about why veterans' voices have remained marginal to a criminological conversation thus far.

Gaining Ethical Clearance

The integrity of the research project begins with ethical approvals and conduct (Bryman 2012). The impact of research governance now stretches far beyond the sphere of health and health care research. Social scientists are increasingly finding themselves accounting

for the choices made according to research governance and the ethical credentials of their project. Before any data could be collected, both myself as the researcher and the focus for the study were subject to a series of stringent checks and procedures. This began by gaining ethical clearance to conduct the research in this way. At the time I didn't realise just how valuable these experience would be in terms of appreciating the complex layers of governance surrounding veteran offenders. Spending considerable time with gatekeepers at custodial sites, I quickly found myself surrounded by people who didn't quite know what to do with me. As I discovered, this was less about the project, then the chaotic nature of the emerging field of veteran governance in the prison system. I was given permission to take notes, and these were retrospectively accepted by the ethical procedure. Nigel King and Christina Horrocks (2010: 104) describe ethical decision making as the exercising of a 'moral compass' by the researcher. This moral compass is more sophisticated than a simple gauging of general dichotomies of right/wrong or perhaps good/bad, rather it is a journey directed by our personal viewpoints, understandings, principles and experiences. Ethical guidelines are then employed and adhered to according to the moral outlook of the researcher.

Before entering "the field" – which refers here to very particular spatial sites of confinement, it was necessary to satisfy ethical clearance from the discipline (The guidelines set out by British Society of Criminology (BSC)); from the University (Ethics Training from the MRes programme and Keele Universities Ethics Board); and at a national level (ethical assessment of the National Offender Management Service (NOMS) through the Integrated Research Application System (IRAS). This process took some nine months to validate and approve. Each ethical body set their own guidelines to ensure ethical conduct, and therefore each have directed and impacted upon my interaction with

each individual setting and encounter. Taken together, this reveals more to criminology about the barriers faced by criminologists who seek to conduct research inside the criminal justice setting, and further still social scientists who aim to obtain narratives of veterans.

I became a member of the BSC in 2010. My membership is understood as recognition of the Society's general ethical principles to produce high quality knowledge for and within the discipline (BSC Code of Ethics). The Society provides criminologists with a 'Code of Ethics' to inform the conduct of research, while promoting the aims of the Society in general to ensure the utmost ethical standards are realised for individual projects. The purpose is not to provide a series of resolutions for imagined or probable dilemmas – it is impossible for one code to begin to consider all of those possible scenarios and variables in individual situations. Instead, it aims to provide a framework for ethical conduct that should support decision-making. As a framework, it suggests conduct that can consider the interests of all of those involved in each specific situation during fieldwork. The general responsibilities are listed below and have been selected from the larger Code as the most relevant guiding principles for this project and those used at points of ethical crisis.

In December 2010 I applied to the University Ethics Board. This involved providing details of the project to the ethics board through a proposal of research and also providing copies of the information to be provided to potential participants and partners. An information sheet, letter of invitation and consent form informed individuals of their right to withdraw at any time, along with necessary arrangements to uphold confidentiality and anonymity. All data was treated as confidential and anonymised in order to minimise the risks associated. Participants were asked to give consent for the

data to be used in this project and all resulting publications. Participants were also able to withdraw consent at any stage of the process and in that event all data would have been destroyed immediately. This duty was fully respected as were the demand regarding the non-breach of confidentiality or the passing on of identifiable data to any interested third parties. Working within the confines of current legislation over matters of privacy, confidentiality, data protection and human rights, the research was subject to law and participants' were made aware of disclosures that would be taken to criminal justice authorities. This included an expressed intention of future criminal activity or suicidal tendencies.

This process was lengthy and required a number of submissions before final clearance was approved. The first concern to be overcome addressed professional experience and training to be able to facilitate the project. Specific reference was made to site safety and conflict resolution. As a result I attended a series of training days through the Veterans Support Correctional Services Link Group, which included 'Listening Skills for Veterans and Trauma', 'Prison Safety', 'Interview Suite Training'. It was anticipated that the intensity of the conflict situation experienced by the participants would result in some distressing issues being discussed. It was then vital to acknowledge the possibility that the research may ask participants to relive traumatic times in their life such as war, fear and grief and/or sites of their violent offence. During the fieldwork, it was revealing that many of the participants had not spoken about these events to anyone since they had occurred. To enable me to confidently engage in such discussions, I became a fully trained caseworker for the British Legion and veteran support mentor for the Probation Service. Those skills allowed me to provide a level of emotional support for distressed participants whilst remaining mindful that I was primarily there in a research capacity.

Each participant was nevertheless offered information on dedicated support services, which included: Combat Stress, Veterans UK and SSAFA Forces Help (Soldiers, Sailors, Airmen & Families Association). As part of the lessons learned from this process, I would encourage future researchers to pay more attention in the preparatory stages to the emotional demands of bearing witness to these narratives. As I quickly discovered, what is required of a researcher is much more than to simply listen and take notes in an objective and distanced way.

The second concern related to questions of procedure and issues surrounding participants disclosures, including intentions to commit future criminal acts. This was resolved with reference to the BSC Code of Ethics. Lastly, some concerns were raised in respect to open ended nature of the interview format. As I will go on to explain below, this actually proved beneficial, enabling participants to narrate their experiences in personal and more historically protracted ways. The issue was resolved in a series of meetings with the Ethics Board, which allowed me to explain the method and interview style in more comprehensive detail. This process stipulated that any data collected must be stored in a locked filing cabinet to which only I had access or on software protected by a password. In line with Keele University Code of Practice all data will be destroyed in 5 years.

In order to be granted access to the criminal justice system, it was necessary to complete an IRAS application. The IRAS procedure captures the information needed by NOMS to assess the appropriateness of the proposed study and at this initial stage their willingness to grant access to Her Majesty's Prison Estate and The Probation Service. Full details are given in the following areas: the principal researcher; who is to be accessed and why; what category of offences will participants have committed; the benefits to NOMS; full

interview guide (this cannot be changed); details of analytical techniques; sites of dissemination; and finally a risk assessment. Once access is granted by NOMS, it is the responsibility of the researcher to contact sites of research with proof of the approval.

Once the fieldwork began, the importance and limits of ethical safeguards become more apparent. The lived experience of research brings about specific challenges and choices that threaten guidelines. Ethical standards state clearly that participation should always be voluntary, and that participants should be free to choose to take part in the research. Participants should also be of sound mind and should not be forced into unwitting situations. Questions however started to appear concerning how free are offenders to really choose? Are those suffering from trauma 'of sound mind'? Those two dilemmas alone were quite evident at times in the prison setting. On one occasion in particular, I was led to cells to learn that VP's were instructed that they had to take part, while on numerous occasions VP's showed visible signs of trauma in response to noises or sudden movements. In direct response of these challenges, I took it upon myself to seek further advice about those suffering from PTSD. I also implemented a process where participants were given time and asked to sign the consent form a second time at the end of the interview, ensuring that the data wasn't ethically compromised. All participants were offered support numbers for dealing with lasting traumas after their interview.

My researcher status was continually made known to both VP's and CJP's. There were occasions when boundaries became blurred, particularly with CJP's whom I spent time considerable time with during the research. I also travelled to Brussels on their behalf and assumed an advisory role as a presenter of their methods. As a result, I became privy to information that a researcher would not ordinarily have been able to access. Those relationships led to a number of situations when I was told information that was 'off the

record' – hence, it was challenging to sieve through and omit some the richness of that knowledge. Similar issues were faced with VP's who confused my role with Parole and CJP's. There was a recurring belief amongst the participants that I could change the status of their punishment in terms of privileges etc. As such I was frequently required to state the boundaries in terms of explaining clearly my purpose and what was appropriate to the research. Lastly, whilst the prison environment was less threatening than I initially imagined, there were times where I had to make a judgement call on issues of safety. On a few occasions, for example, the interview suites in which the research was conducted did not have a working panic button. I was left to decide whether or not to conduct the interview. I always proceeded with the interviews, and in doing so I actually managed to gain further trust with the participants. I was however mindful that should I have been injured during those interviews, NOMS were not liable.

Identifying Research Populations

The research process began with Cheshire Probation Trust. Cheshire was selected because they were piloting the Veteran Support Officer Initiative, and had just begun implementing a mentoring scheme with European Community Programme for Employment. The Trust was extremely receptive to the project, with a research contract drawn up to state the clear research aims and to establish how the research in turn might be beneficial to the Trust. These negotiations resulted in my appointment to the Trust in an advisory capacity on matters pertaining to academic insight and analysis. Part of this included conducting a series of observations and small evaluations that could be fed back to the Senior Management Team. Alongside these tasks, I attended the training of VSO's and oversee a series of mentoring relationships for the research European Community Programme for Employment. These roles included presenting my findings at the

Programmes conference (Brussels 2011); where I was awarded the Cheshire Probation Trusts Award for Services to Veteran Mentoring. This award is relevant to note here as led to a moment of self-realisation in which I appreciated how I had actually become a voice in the governance of the very subject that I was aiming to research (chapter seven).

The Trust however proved limiting in its sampling size. After 12 months only 4 veterans had actually come forward for participation. I was therefore required to expand my research sites to include Manchester Probation Trust and Warwickshire Veterans Contact Point. Manchester had a signposting service for veterans and Warwickshire Veterans Contact Point were contracted by Warwickshire Probation Trust to provide support for veteran offenders. Again, both granted access in exchange for evaluating the service they offered and to feed that back to their management teams. These negotiations are referred to as 'access bargaining' and led to more time being spent watching their approach than obtaining data. Those observations however add another important dimension to the data, as mentioned above. In the final stages of the research I moved back to Cheshire for some final interviews.

In terms of identifying suitable veterans for the research, I set out a number of *a priori* specifications in order to define the population of study and to ensure continuity and consistency in the cases identified (Bryman, 2012: 422). These fixed specifications included:

1. VPs must be demobilised soldiers (veterans) from either (or both) the Iraq or Afghanistan conflicts post 9/11.
2. VPs should have been convicted of a violent offence post-deployment and be serving their sentence at the time of the offence.

3. VPs should be male. I considered *purposive sampling* to be the most effective tool to recruit participants.

Paul Oliver & Victor Jupp (2006) explain that this sort of 'non-probability' sampling allows the researcher to make important decisions concerning a quantifiable population according to set criteria. To ensure however that the research focused on the qualitative, I was offered each potential participant's case history, which involved life stories before their sentencing. It is also worth pointing out that each area adheres to their unique data accessibility and protection processes. For instance, in Cheshire potential participants were contacted through their Offender Manager, whereas in Manchester I was given as list of names, crimes and telephone numbers and contacted potential participants myself, and finally in Warwickshire the director of the service contacted participants. When recruiting CJPs, I also insisted upon a *priori* specifications. These included:

1. CJPs must have VPs (participants of this study and VPs who did not take part) on their caseload at the time of the interview.
2. CJPs must be working with VPs as part of specific veteran initiative.

Obtaining-data

During the project, I used two distinct methods, which included Free Association Narrative Interviews (FANI) when interviewing veterans and semi-structured interview techniques when engaging with criminal justice practitioners. I also took field notes of my observations and kept a research diary, both of which were intended as memoirs but their content became much more informative to the inter-subjective nature of my

analysis. Philips (2010: 51) remarks certainly resonated and on occasions proved more complex in this regard:

Prisons are places of intensely managed emotion where institutions
interests in formal order coincide and conflict with raw exigencies
of ontological survival in an alien environment.

Mindful of this, the first challenge, after access was granted was to find a place in a broader system of governance – remembering that as a researcher I was also something to be governed. In 2011 interviews began with both VPs and CJs in Cheshire. Interviews in Manchester and Warwickshire began in 2012 and my time in the field as a research for this project ended officially in 2013. The multiple methods I used to obtain data are detailed below.

Discourse and the Empirical Process

As already outlined the research method has been informed by particular understandings of discourse analysis. For example the interviews conducted with VPs were based on a free association narrative method (FANI), which approaches the obtaining of data in a way that is responsive to discursive complexities. It derives from the conception of ‘a psycho-social *subject* as a meeting point of inner and outer forces, something constructed and yet constructing, a power-using subject which is also subject to power’ (Frosh 2003: 1564, original emphasis). This points to the use of research technique that situates the importance of a project at the social intersection between each participant’s inner and outer worlds, thereby allowing the psychosocial subject to enjoy a different ontology of the self than is contemplated by traditional forms of inquiry in social science (Clarke & Hoggett 2009). Such conceptualisation highlights the need to move beyond the idealistic perception of the human subject as a rational, autonomous and constructed self to

understand and take seriously the irrational, complex and contradictory. Ontology seen this way recognises the imperfect nature of thought of the human subject as an embodiment of culture and sentiment caught up in a nexus of personal meaning frames derived from biography, society and history (Gadd & Jefferson 2007; Wright Mills 1970).

It should also be pointed out that as the research began to develop, the limits of the FANI approach in terms of its psychological principles became more and more apparent. To overcome this, I placed more emphasis on the sociological principles of narrative theorising, which have been increasingly recognised in the social sciences as a credible way to explore identity, culture and aesthetics (King and Horrocks 2010). As Jens Brockmier and Donal Carbaugh (2001) inform, this move away from the psychological towards to social results in a narrative shift from that of inner mechanism of the mind to the 'discursive arena'. This is not to say that individuals do not have control over their lives, but to suggest making sense of stories requires being attuned to social constructions about how lives develop and progress in a ways that intelligibly attaches identity to particular bodies. As a result I decided to analyse the data, as noted in the introduction, according to a CDA. CDA not only held more meaning for the veteranality framework but for my research aims. I will return to this process later in this chapter.

Engaging with VPs: Free-Association Narrative Interviews

This thesis draws on the narratives of 18 veterans (12 of which were interviewed twice) serving a custodial sentence or community supervision. The interviews informed the following research questions:

2. What are the limitations of this legally framed approach?

4. How does the demobilised soldier (veteran) convicted of a violent offence in England make sense of their crime and their new identity as a criminal?

I will now detail how these interviews are conducted. This style of interviewing follows a hermeneutic approach by moving away from the traditions of question-and-answer interviewing styles. These have been shown to be limiting and guiding in terms of the rigidity of discussion. The significance of free-association is that it constructs its questions around periods in participant's lives and not singular events (or for this project specific offences). Wendy Hollway and Tony Jefferson (2000: 37) observe this to include 'eliciting the kind of narrative that is not structured according to conscious logic, but according to unconscious logic: that is, the associations follow pathways defined by emotional motivations, rather than rational intentions'. Such an approach makes every effort not to limit responses by providing a narrow definition or ideologically set terms for the research topic. To clarify, my interview guide was careful not to ask directly about violence or their index offence. Questions instead focused on life histories which were freely offered, along with many rich and informative stories that materialised in ways that were sometimes unprompted by the researcher (Kvale 2007). The first interview asked:

1. Could you tell me the story of your life before you joined the military?
2. Can you tell me about when you joined?
3. What was it like before deployment
4. Can you tell me about deployment?
5. Could you tell me about when you got home?
6. Can you tell me about life now?

This interview facilitates an initial indicative reading of the subject. After the interview the script is critically 'interrogated... to pick up the contradictions, inconsistencies, avoidances and changes of emotional tone' (Hollway and Jefferson 2000: 43). The second interview is a means of verifying the first. Following an analysis of the contradictions, inconsistencies, avoidances and changes of emotional tone the second interview allows the researcher to probe for more information on a particular story or description and aims to explore issues missed in the first meeting. Only 12 of the 18 were interviewed twice – in practice offenders coming to the end of their sentence, being moved to other prisons or simply becoming distressed by talking about their experiences. The method also suggests that the second interview should take place a week later. This was practically impossible. The time involved in transcribing and analysing interviews (sometimes 3 in a day) meant that a week was not long enough to prepare for the second interview.

Engaging with CJP's: Semi-Structured Interviews

Interviews with CJP's were conducted to address research questions:

1. How is the violent veteran framed as a distinct category for legal forms of governance?
4. How has the criminal justice system responded to their criminality?

I contacted 16 CJP's for interview from the Cheshire area. Focus groups were considered as a means of exploring their experiences of working with veterans but it became clear that there were many competing frustrations and so semi-structured interviews allowed those struggles to be shared privately. My purpose for these interviews was not to elicit

narratives about their experiences in general but to speak to specific perspectives on veterans and the challenges they posed for criminal justice practice. I was all too aware of my time constraints and the time already involved in analysing the narratives of VP's and so decided that this part of the research should be a well-managed verbal exchange (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003 and Gillham, 2000). Such an exchange is based on carefully constructed questions. A structured approach was explored to begin with but I realised through my observations that so much of their work was reactive and conducted through well-intentioned emotions - a structured approach may have missed those complexities. The semi-structured approach allowed me to explore CJP's perceptions within the constraints of a purposeful agenda (i.e. to speak to technologies and teleologies). The topic guide prompted me to ask about the following issues:

1. What are the intentions behind the programme, service that you work for?
2. What motivations and assumptions guide your practice?
3. What research if any guides your policy?
4. How do you see your role?
5. How do you understand 'veterans' within the criminal justice framework?
6. What do you believe that your (programme, service, charity) is trying to achieve?
7. Is there a clear 'end' goal/ output?

The answers to these questions considered the subjectivities of those charged with the management of veterans. Remembering that such practices are 'always practised under the actual or imagined authority of some system of truth and of some authoritative individual' (Rose 2000: 315), I was keen to learn how the *governors* made sense of their new role. From the power to impose upon the veteran a system of power that will

improve him, to the knowledge bases that guide this process and finally what the intended outcome will be. In the absence of a formal policy I was keen to learn what values and *norms* this practice was based upon. For what goals did CJP's find their passion to get involved? Once more Foucault (1977: 304) encourages this line of enquiry:

The judges of normality are present everywhere. We are in the society of the teacher-judge, the doctor-judge, the educator-judge, the 'social-worker'-judge, it is on the, that the universal reign of the normative is based; and each individual; wherever he may find himself, subjects to his body, his gestures, his behaviour, his aptitudes, his achievements.

These questions then were based upon an enthusiasm to know more about the sort of norms and the types of lives they believed that their initiatives were capable of fostering. The recruitment process for CJP's was very informal. After working alongside many of those suitable for these interviews most were arranged over coffee, in meetings or via catch up e-mails. Concerns about interviews creating artificial situations are well documented – see for example Martyn Descombe (2010) detailed text. My experience with CJP's was to create a research relationship mindful of the fact that that in many cases we had become 'colleagues'. Similarly concerns about the 'clear power asymmetry between the researcher and the subject' was inverted as they had so often advised and guided me through the challenges that the field presented (Kvale 2009: 33). Of the 16 contacted 8 decided to e-mail the responses to these questions. On those occasions I received a range of very considered responses that made clear the 'party-line'. These became very useful reflections when considered alongside the more natural frustrations obtained from the interviews.

Observations and Research Diaries

Whilst the data obtained through both sets of interviews was rich and extensive, I realised quickly once I entered the field that the non-verbal interactions and challenges told a much richer story about the problem of governing veterans. I also became appreciative that as a researcher I was something to be governed. Even though my role evolved and interests became blurred; it was important to be mindful of when I was considered a researcher and when I was considered part of the 'team'. Retrospective clearance was granted by Cheshire for notes to be taken in this way. Both my observations and diaries were considered field notes – although both served a very different function. My observations allowed me to make sense of the environment and interrogate its physical, social and emotional characteristics. Piergiorgio Corbetta (2003: 247) explains that the psychical characteristics of an environment 'almost always reflect social characteristics (as well as conditioning social behaviour)'. Social behaviour, I believe is also a product of the emotions and pressures often involved in conducting this sort of research – it permeates the criminal justice setting. My observations captured the tireless efforts, the lack of resources and support and the enthusiasm for a better practice for veterans that the interviews wouldn't have shown.

They also allowed me to capture the frictions and disappointments that new programmes always face. I observed meetings, training and informal networking which allowed me to watch at close quarters the character and cultures driving initiatives and the barriers faced by the rigidity of the criminal justice framework. Whilst my presence will have affected those processes (Hall 2008), just as with the interviews, over time I blended in to the background as people were so used to seeing me there. As one challenge is overcome another is presented and so although I didn't feel I altered the way meetings

were run particularly, I began to find it difficult to be critical of the well-intentioned work that clearly did not work. Such was my experience when writing for the Probation Journal where I posed 4 questions for consideration in a way that was careful to acknowledge the efforts being made on the ground (Murray 2014b).

On occasion I had a direct impact on the truths about violent veterans and where relevant these impacts will be highlighted. It is with reference to my diaries that so much of this is expressed. Whilst I accept the 'self' is yet another 'construction', both its detail and my affirmation of it were involved in a *co-constructed knowledge production* (Phillips & Earle 2010) of truth. Who then am I? At the time of writing I am 30 years of age (26 when the field work began) and a white Irish female who has spent the majority of her life in North-West England. As the fieldwork began I had little experience of the British Military, only an undergraduate and master's dissertation and a fascination with conflict and its effects that was most likely a result of spending my formative years in Co Donegal which borders Northern Ireland. I had no experience of violent men or criminal justice agencies with any sort of authority. I was daunted by the surroundings, but determined not to let that show as I looked to the apparent ease in which other 'professionals' negotiated the environment; I copied them. In each visit to the field I entered as a researcher – to me this was a genderless role with no particular face – instead I had a name, an 'expert' title (at times) and a skill. In each visit however I was perceived as a young female and that perception had an impact on the environment I had been given access to. I began to notice that my data looked very different from other interpretations of veterans' narratives. This raised a number of questions as to whether this contrasted to the male-dominated knowledge production in the interdisciplinary context of military scholarship.

Having being referred to as a 'horse', propositioned on a few occasions, whistled at and become overwhelmed by emotion because to 'no woman has ever listened to me before', not only did I begin to reflect upon on how I had experienced the field and my participants', but also how they had experienced my presence. The veterans' experience of punishment was altered by my interview; my participants' experience of being a veteran changed the moment a young female academic walks into the room and listens intently to their biography. I began to question if I was able to give a voice to these men or were there limitations to my understanding and empathy as a female? As Foucault (1981: 67) suggests:

We must not imagine that the world turns towards us a legible face
which we would have only to decipher; the world is not the
accomplice of our knowledge.

An account of the 'self' in criminology is almost as marginal to its teachings as accounts of war, yet amid continued reluctance, convincing explanations of 'the self' are starting to emerge (Ferrell 2006; Phillips and Earle 2010; Wakeman 2014). Steven Wakeman (2014: 709) describes this approach as being more than 'rendering clear progressive accounts of criminological subjects', it is also a way of challenging 'orthodox criminological research practices'. He asks; what do 'the intersections of field experience, biography and emotions reveal about the subject under investigation?' This process is met with resistance for a number of reasons: the first are objectives of 'science' like methodological rigour- to look upon subjects and capture their truth (Wakeman 2014). We are of course not scientists of micro-analytical tradition who must 'transmit a message immediately' (Philip and Earle 2010: 269), nor is the research process the prescriptive and linear experience strived for in its proposals. The second is a critique that the research is not

about us and we must be careful not to turn so far in ourselves that we miss the research subject (Crewe 2009). This first person narrative then takes into account the intersubjectivity of my encounters as emotion is ever present during the fieldwork, but as revealing perhaps of the dominance of certain methodological positions, is so often *written out* of the literature. My presence in itself challenged certain assumptions about the way violence is researched and whilst my 'advice' had fed into it, I was fully mindful of the fact that I (the young researcher) was something to be governed.

My research diary (otherwise known as a self-completion diary) was used throughout the fieldwork as a means of recording events as they unfolded that may be easily forgotten in time. It is a source of reflection of personal thoughts and emotions that would normally get lost in the research process. It is then crucial in an existential sense. It is also a site that evidences clearly the fact that although we attempt to write about a research process, linear accounts concerning the reality of that experience is anything but a series of events that happen one after the other. Often processes are happening at the same time or decisions have to be made in the moment without reference to textbook methods. Nonetheless the preparation and understanding of the methods employed allow informed choices and sincere reflections. As such in the moments that I *write-in myself*, it is done with the intention of providing a reflection that is able to render the balance of practical challenges and my own subjectivities clear. To do this is to make reference to the subtleties that may have effected what are then constituted in the next three chapters as 'findings'.

The quest for new truths: Analytical techniques and reflections

My decision to abandon the FANI method at the point of analysis was both a consequence of my limited abilities to analyse data from a psychological perspective (however sociologically framed) and the broader aims of the project. The first reason is easy to explain and that is I did not feel equipped to make sense of the data from a psychological position as a student of criminology and criminal justice. In addition, as I became immersed in the criminal justice system and interviews with CJPs took place in the early stages of the project it became more and more necessary from my perspective to place veteran's narratives into the broader context of governmental technologies that were emerging to rehabilitate them. Scholars who remained true to the FANI method would have taken very different themes from the narratives offered by veterans using their interview method. If I had remained true to the method, VPs would be presented as case studies and my analysis would have made sense of how VPs make use of different discourses and adopt different discursive positions. The unconscious underpins so much of FANI analysis proper and how subjects are not aware of so much of the power at play upon them. However this would have been at the cost of the observations and experiences of being governors offered by CJPs. It would have also underplayed my role in the governance of VPs during the project.

Where FANI methodologists are concerned with the interplay between the inner and outer worlds of participants (the psychological and social) – my analysis (veteranality) asks us to consider the interplay between the political and sociological and importantly how social identities function politically. That does not overlook the agency of the subject, as resistance is also key to this analysis – however agency is understood as being influenced by discursive representations of the veteran offender's position. Underpinning both methods is the importance of discourse, which crucially is why the

move was straightforward in many ways. While the 'discursive arena' is central to both, FANI focuses on how participants use discourse to make sense of themselves, while veteranality is more concerned with how discourse shapes and represents participants at a cost.

Being an analyst

VPs often asked if I knew what they meant. Some participants went as far as to bring pictures to their second interview in a bid to make their experiences more accessible (as a civilian women) through imagery. A discursive analysis of the data that is concerned with linguistics may have attributed this to a confirming mechanism employed by veterans to ensure that their narrative was clear and being heard and interpreted correctly. It could also be assigned to a habit in their speech – such as the frequent use of 'like' or 'summert' (something). But there was something to these performances I felt needed a further analysis beyond whether or not I could ever truly understand the stories of these men? A similar comment was made by VP3 when showing the pictures in which he admitted that he had given some thought to how 'a civvy' and 'a bird' could ever truly make sense of his stories? He had decided that without some sort of imagery offered by the pictures selected, perhaps they (a woman and civilian) couldn't (I couldn't). This concern is also implicit if not explicit in my own diaries:

Sat on the train and it feels easier to write how I feel after today rather than make any attempt to make sense of it at this stage. I am not sure if as I get more comfortable with the surroundings or the stresses of the interview that I am beginning to hear more of what they say or if what they say is becoming more harrowing. It is a strange feeling of repulsion and empathy – sympathy even. They

detail their crime and time at war in a way that is no longer as fascinating as it was to me but real stories of brutality. I wonder then how I can like them so much. I cried walking away from the prison today and that worries me with so many interviews left in front of me. I can walk away from these stories and can walk away from the whole thing if I wanted (I don't of course) these men have to live it, they have lived it and so have their victims. They too tonight may be a victim? I look on at them as they narrate horrendous scenes – they speak of the smell and the bodies. I of course know that this is an upsetting narrative but can I really do justice to what they have seen and to the scene they illustrate – they provide a still frame to me and wonderful description that has a profound effect on me but not the effect that war would have on me – just the effect that listening to such stories could.

(Research Diary 04/03/13)

My own reactions to the data are central to how it would be presented. Of course I hadn't 'found' the data, it was subject to my own interpretation. In doing so I feed into the knowledge about the violent veteran – having a complex and relational role in the subjectification. To analyse this process is to politically engage with its method and findings. As Van Dijk (1993: 252) suggests:

Unlike other discourse analysts, critical discourse analysts (should) take an explicit socio-political stance: they spell out their point of view, perspective, principles and aims, both within their discipline

and within wider society at large. Although not in each stage of theory formation and analysis, their work is admittedly and ultimately political. Their hope, if occasionally illusionary, is change through critical understanding. Their perspective, if possible, that of those who suffer most from dominance and inequality.

At this stage one might rightly question my place as a researcher of governance, as I became in many respects part of that governance. Millar and Rose (2008: 29) remind us that:

Whilst the identification of failure is thus a central element in governmentality, an analysis of governmentality is not itself a tool for social programmers. To analyse what one might term 'the will to govern' is not to participate enthusiastically in it.

While I do believe that my methods do justice and integrity to the research, I do however think it is necessary to develop that dialogue and consider my effect on the data. When reading other interviews with military men, conducted by men, participants seems more willing and eager to discuss the names of weaponry (see for example McGarry 2009 who is a former Military Police Man). VPs who took part in the study were careful avoid such technical speak, instead they described the environments and their experience of them and made sure I understood. They often spoke of their feelings – and noted that they would not have spoken to a man in the same way. Bronwyn Davies & Rom Harre (2002) refer to *positioning* as subjects utilise discourse to produced and reproduce themselves – for example I am bad, I am good, I'm not like them (see chapter five and six). VPs were keen to express their story to me in some way – keen to ensure that it connected and their

intended effect of a narrative (be that to scare me, express emotion, or take me to a brutal event) was realised.

As Shapiro (2002) notes, as analysts, we should go further than to accept that reality is a construction but to be clear about our own discursive devices. And so – did I know what they meant? What did I draw upon to make sense of their narrations? What was clear for me was a real desire to give an audience to the voices about British ex-military personnel. It is a voice that is all too often ignored, and whilst there could many readings of the data being a woman and a civilian, I am able to unearth yet another layer in the construction and subjectivity of violent veterans, today. My aim has been to highlight the series of narratives about what these young men have experienced as their identity is continually reworked and wherever possible add to conceptual insight into this process. I account for my effect on the data by offering testimony about those times I found challenging through my diaries. The excerpts have included my reactions to participants, feelings (and fears) and how I experienced those settings and stories. The use of lengthy quotes from participants allows the reader to make up their own mind about my analysis, which nevertheless followed transparent rules (see above and chapter three).

Coding

Coding must be true to this understanding of discourse. As Shapiro (2001: 320) comments:

Textualist or poststructuralist modes of analysis emphasize 'discourse' rather than language because the concept of discourse implies a concern with the meaning- and value-producing practices in language rather than simply the relationship between utterances and their referents. In the

more familiar approaches to political phenomena (including the empiricist and phenomenological), language is treated as a transparent tool: it is to serve as an unobtrusive conduit between thoughts or concepts and things. In contrast, a discourse approach treats language as opaque and encourages an analysis of both the linguistic practices within various phenomena – political, economic, social, biological, and so on – are embedded and of the language of inquiry itself.

With this advice in mind, multiple coding techniques were employed in an effort to ensure that narratives were read and re-read so as not to reduce the narrative to singular yet all-encompassing truths. For VPs in particular a quick response was important to allow for a second interview to take place quickly. Responses invariably shaped and reshaped my focus and follow questions as codes clearly started to form. I took this to be inescapable in the circumstances. As I faced the painstaking task of making sense of the unique and often unimaginable data that I had collected, I allowed codes to emerge and then analysed those stories according to the framework and tools of veteranality.

Critical Discourse Analysis and Veteranality

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is not a prescribed mode of analysis nor does it have a specific theoretical framework. Rather, to subscribe to CDA or to claim to have analysed discourse in this way is to offer a different perspective about your topic with a focus on power, knowledge and resistance. Van Dijk (1985: 352) explains that studies that employ this approach are concerned with how understandings are ‘enacted, reproduced and resisted in social and political contexts.’ Butler (2009) again offers an innovative

understanding of what it means to be immersed in history for war, state violence and resistance in what she terms 'frames of war'. Written as a response to the war on terror, she focuses how we frame war and violence culturally and how the process is 'politically saturated' (Butler 2009: 1). Her work is crucial to my analysis – as frames work to make a distinction between the lives that count as important and those which are marginalised. This can only work on a basis of recognition. Recognisability in this sense is not a feature of the individual but a feature of broader existence and how it is framed. The importance of this is twofold; on the one hand the man damaged by war is a man who perhaps cannot readily assign his memories of brutality to the frame that makes it OK to have done what he has done, or to have seen what he has seen. And on the other hand we can take this a step further to think about how he recognises his own life. How is a violent veteran framed?

It should be noted that a socio-political analysis shares with a psycho-social thesis briefly in the belief that at the point in which the self identifies as a subject of discourse something is sacrificed – it isn't possible for the subject to know what is lost because we are only able to reflect, recall memories and speak 'truthfully' within the limitations of the regime of truth (Butler 2003). Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan (1999) propose remembering to be collective but they emphasise agency, action and imagination within the process. When we remember through narration we join separate parts of the past by engaging with a 'domain beyond that of individual memory' (1999: 6). Remembering is then a social exercise in which the past is created 'in the present rather than preceding it' (Edkins 2003: 34).

The most unlikely researcher? A reflection

We seek the perceptions of other people from different circumstances, in order to discover the limitations of our own (Myers 2004).

As I have noted all VP's in this study were men. All 3 gatekeepers were men and of the 16 CHP's only 4 were female (women answered via e-mail). There are both virtues and vices of cross-gendered research – but being a woman researching high risk men brought with it a range of challenges. These challenges were heightened in my view by the military experience of those high-risk men, which created another barrier at times. It is important to think about the way in which power operates in cross-gender research and little guidance that is given in terms of how this may 'complicate ethical and safety issues' (Huggins and Glebbeek 2003: 367). Madaline Petrillo (2007) addresses many of the challenges I faced in her research as it related to the power *struggle* female probation officers face working with high-risk men. She suggests that although women assume positions of control in criminal justice settings (for example the probation officer, the psychologist, the prison officer, the researcher) they are subject to a similar gender conditioning as operates in wider society. Namely that those women must keep themselves safe, and will be held responsible for potential victimisation! This was also evident in advice I was given to 'dress-down – wear your glasses and no makeup it is important that you do not look attractive in there – or you may as well be walking into the lion's den' (Gatekeeper 1a).

We must be careful however, as Martha Huggins and Marie-Louise Glebbeek (2003) noted, not to inflate researcher vulnerability in the interview landscape. Within the site of interaction between participants and researcher the power dynamic may be fluid, but

in the criminal justice setting it is the participant who ultimately is always vulnerable to power relations, although there were clearly times when I felt controlled by VP's for example:

I don't know why you would glance at the panic button sweetheart;
believe me I am much quicker than you – but don't worry you are too
cute to hurt. I like you - why don't we finish this over dinner one day.
(VP 6)

There were also clearly times when my gender powerfully effected participants. For example:

You are really cool for a bird – I have never known a woman
understand me before. Makes me nervous when you look at me and
I know you are listening to everything I say and care what I say.
Makes my palms sweaty. (VP 4)

My research diary for the same day explains:

In some interviews you are so taken by the participants and the
environment that you forget yourself – it is only afterwards that you
realise you were there and not just watching from afar. Today was
different, at the participant's visible nerves around me and his
constant reference to my smile, my soft voice and how I 'care' that I
think I was more aware of myself than what he was saying at times.
It will be interesting to listen to the tape (Research Diary 2012).

Much of the literature discusses these issues in terms of power dynamics and power struggles. And, that understanding one's own sexuality is important when working with high risk men (Knox 1990; Petrillo 2007). In order to do this one must manage personal empathy, manage forms of intimidation (intentional or not) and cope with revulsion. It is also a dynamic that shifted during the course of the research as I grew in confidence and VP's status shifted from one of elevation to one of vulnerability – I will explore this further in chapter five.

During the course of the research my gender and nationality were questioned alongside the fact that I have never been to war or to prison. The insider/outsider debate is a common observation in research especially for a social research that draws upon qualitative methods with an obligation to reflect on the researchers position (Bonner & Tolhurst 2002). This was further problematised by military culture which is largely created and sustained on a different insider/outsider dichotomy – one of military personal and the civilian (Higate & Cameron 2006). For the participants of this study I was an outsider in more ways than one; I was female, I was not British, I was not in the criminal justice system and I had no military experience. It was important then to draw quickly on what I did have to gain rapport and stimulate valuable data that was effected as little as possible by the distance resulting from *who we were*. In a bid to gain rapport with each participant in the same way I spoke to these differences in my introduction of myself to put participants at ease. At the start of each interview I would explain who I was and why I was interested in speaking with them. One thing I did know was the lingo and from my own personal experiences that it was better to be upfront about those differences and almost joke about them from the start.

Further to this I had an insight gleaned from my undergraduate and postgraduate projects that there was a possibility that my participants would be more comfortable talking to an outsider about these issues as they felt they had let the military down. And so who I was wouldn't always be a barrier if handled carefully, openly and in a way that they perceived to be genuine. The majority of the time this new approach worked in that participants felt at ease with the situation which was my main concern and I felt more confident in my role. In some interviews VPs spoke freely and explained this a result of me not understanding fully the consequences of their crimes for the military. I could listen to how it felt, but wouldn't be able to feel it. VPs explained after many of the interviews that they felt they could explain feelings in a way that perhaps they wouldn't to a man - and certainly not a man of the military. In some cases however this was questioned and it to those cases that I now turn.

VP 8: I can't talk to you about it! Women are like horses – I mean would you talk to a horse?

EM: I would but I wouldn't expect it to answer

Being a woman was not something that participants failed to notice as my inexperience at the time expected. The stereotypes and often prejudices about women often held by VPs were often reflected on to me and negotiated, while at times challenged. The participant above turned out to be the most insightful interview and asked could he be seen a third time. I have often wondered if I had answered that question differently what the result would have been. VP8 and all but one other participant had bad relationships with women and saw men as the people that they could rely upon. The narratives offered described men in detail, each character described by the way they looked and their

personality which was in stark contrast to their descriptions of women who were often unnamed and almost faceless.

EM: Could you tell me a little more about your partner?

VP4: Well I can but there is not much to say really she is just my bird (laughter)
military baggage they called her (laughter)

EM: Military Baggage?

VP4: Yeah like you know just military baggage, like... well like the military pay for them and that.

Offences against women were common, yet the narratives never gave their victim a face and rarely a name. I have questioned whether or not a man would have noticed that or been offended by it in the same way. The constant exposure to graphic violence of both combat and interpersonal intimate relationships became very difficult and I could feel my perceptions of men changing alongside a greater sense of language used by men when discussing women. It is important to note that in the later stages of the research these references and challenges became less and less pronounced – perhaps because confidence in this setting grew or that I became less sensitive or shocked by the descriptions of violence I was being exposed to?

Conclusion

This chapter has detailed the methodological rationale and the methodological procedures of this project, and in doing so I have been able to share the challenges of both and reflect upon them. I have shown through this outline how my dedication to the

research project enabled a new understanding of the veteran, which I consider to be a 're-imagining'. My approach is distinctive in four ways: Its access, the female researcher, in-depth methods and a CDA analysis. Access granted over an extended period of time allowed me to interview VP's and CJP's whilst observing the environment. This meant that the findings are not simply a snapshot of a particular day but can be constructed through witnessing the on-going experiences of some of the challenges and emotions involved. It has been found that my gender has elicited a different type of narrative than those obtained by men, and although this has brought with it a set of challenges, the emotion and tone of the narratives are a unique entry into the discourse of VP's. This is a uniqueness that often challenges the series of tropes that are gaining authority. An in-depth narrative study of violent veterans helps in our understanding of a newly identifiable group of offenders and my multi-layered analysis can consider the power and knowledge that operate and react to identities within the punishment framework. Taken together this methodology allows for a detailed and considered analysis of both research questions.

The Violent Life of the Soldier²²

Introduction

This chapter is the first of three empirical chapters that specifically address the data obtained from the fieldwork conducted for this project. In their first interview, VPs were encouraged to speak about their life before the military, along with their life in the military, before I subsequently moved to explore their experiences leading up to their state of conviction (see chapter four). The importance of these testimonies, as this chapter will demonstrate, provides a basis from which to understand the complexities of my research problem and its implications for reimagining the violent veteran in the criminal justice system. It evidences a concern with the soldier's biographical histories to take seriously questions of agency. In doing so, the chapter sets out to know more about the soldier by foregrounding more explicitly their complex life stories and political subjectivities. This chapter thus addresses the second research aim for this thesis (see chapter one):

1. To provide a platform for narratives offered by convicted veterans that fall outside of dominant discourse, with particular reference to how veterans understand their criminality.

²² Soldier for this project refers to those who have served in the Army, Navy (including the Royal Marines) and Royal Air Force. When the stark differences in these roles are made explicit by VPs their place of service will be highlighted.

By exploring the narrative offered by VPs about their lives before sentence this chapter also speaks to my third research question (see chapter one):

3. How does the veteran convicted of a violent offence in England make sense of their crime and their new identity as a criminal?

The chapter begins with the importance of analysing VPs former lives before moving to the first of the four sections. The first considers VPs lives before they joined the military, what I consider 'pre-military subjectivities'. This section examines how participants narrate themselves before they signed up for service. The second explores the narratives offered by VPs, attending to their experiences of basic training and how they remember the process of learning their violent trade. This trained violence will come to be a key reference point for them upon conviction and a key reference point for their governors. This is not the first time participants have experienced violence; it is however the first time that their violence is actively liberated, positively celebrated and legitimated as a strategic necessity. This continuum is important inasmuch as it points to a permanent state of warfare in the imaginary of the soldier. The third period considered to be important asks how trained bodies are then brought to violence, and how this present challenges that can only be understood by asking questions about embodiment, mobilisation and the fundamental tensions conditions of violence produce. This brings us directly to the ways in which violence is brought home as in the fourth section participants explain a new experience and awareness of the relationship between violence and the body. Especially the violence that is committed upon bodies. This violence begins to be understood as a way of inscribing political subjectivities upon both the perpetrator of the violence and the victim in question.

As VPs narrate their experience of each of these four periods in their lives key themes emerged. As I have shown in chapter four this began with a thematic coding before analysing those themes through veteranality. In this chapter subjectification and resistance are the most significant analytical ‘tools’ that were employed (see chapters one, three and four). My ambition here to reveal the subjugated knowledge about the experience of the violent veteran often meant that I had to look beyond the literature in chapters two and three to make sense of the data. For example once the data was analysed, it became apparent that the body was important to VPs – both their bodies and their awareness of others. The human experience of violence and discipline was also essential to the narratives offered. Lastly how VPs held others responsible for their actions continually emerged for the analysis. These themes do not form part of the literature reviews in chapters two and three and so at times new literatures are introduced to analyse the data – literatures that should be added to future explorations and academic discussions.

The significance of VPs former lives

Any consideration of the violence of ‘veteran offenders’ begins by considering individuals histories. The veteran status of the offender points to a set of experiences that sets them apart from others who have committed a similar offence (see chapter three). This means that in order for one to be governed as a violent veteran, one must first have experienced a series of events to qualify for as belonging to that unique category. The veteran offender designates a very particular form of political subjectivity which are not only different from the rest of the population on account of their criminal status, they are also different from other veterans and perhaps most importantly they are different from other offending populations. While this is problematic alone, as I will go on to demonstrate in

chapters six and seven, on-going references to their past life experiences do not stop there. The MoJ are keen to make sense of issues that have stemmed from military service and war in particular (Lynn and Packham 2014). Yet, in contrast, when the MoD were asked to comment on numbers of military personnel sentenced for a criminal offence, they were keen to stress that they felt it was misplaced to attribute this to military experience. In fact according to the MoD's reading, military service had actually taken these young men out of environments where criminality was more probable (Howard League 2011). Against this, both VPs and CJP's who participated in this study openly referred to both childhoods and military service throughout their responses as a way to make sense of veteran's crimes. Barbara Ellen (2013) writing in *The Guardian* puts it in more provocative terms:

...It's obvious that naturally aggressive people are good choices for combat. Some might even think that maybe it's the best place for these "meat-heads". After all, if they were offending prior to joining up, then the violence would be happening anyway, just out on the streets instead of in combat. It makes sense to put these violent sorts in the military and make use of it. What rot. Just as boy racers tend to grow out of speeding, there's more than a chance that other young men would grow out of violence. Just because someone commits violence when they are very young, it doesn't mean that they're going to be violent forever. The goal for most young men enlisting in the forces would be learning a trade, not learning how to be better at violence. For some, being flung into combat, sometimes repeatedly, might prolong and enhance violent tendencies they might otherwise

have grown out of. The irony is that when they leave active duty, the same single-minded aggression is swiftly denounced as "wrong again" by wider society. Is it any wonder they are so messed up?

Ellen's comments were intended to challenge prevailing attitudes, while she acknowledged the MoD part funds research into veteran's behaviour in an attempt to provide better support to their troops. My concern is not to try and ascertain some "root causes" for the participants' criminality. Even when conducting the research, it was quite evident that such explanations are deeply contested – especially when it comes to reinforcing certain agencies particular programs and policy agendas. What I am concerned with is how individuals were transformed into violent subjects through a series of complex life histories and governmental processes. Such discussions move beyond singular explanations to speak more broadly to a series of common themes in the participants' narratives – although not all participants experience them in the same way. There is no singular narrative that brings bodies to violence in a universal way. What the histories do reveal is the complexity of ones relationship to violence as presented in each of the VPs testimonies. This chapter thus seeks to address the complexities of their political subjectivities as they embody the condition of violence. In doing so, the narratives offered in this chapter add some qualitative depth to this set of assumptions.

Pre-military subjectivities

The first question encouraged all VP's to tell the story of their life before military service. Whilst each of the testimonies proved rich in detail, three notable themes emerged from the interviews as important to participants at the time. The first was how they had engaged in what they considered to be 'illegitimate violence' and been subject to disciplinary action as a result prior to joining the military. The second theme was a

struggle for personal relationships with their mother and other women (something that made my position as a female researcher both challenging and yet informing). For instance, each participant narrated their mother as problem in their early childhood, and yet although most did not know their father, no resentment towards them was ever expressed. It was however common for participants to justify their desire to join to military to get away from broken family lives in which they placed their mothers at the centre. Lastly, they speak of a need to make something of themselves and they all felt that the military was means by which they could positively alter their lives. This theme, which I refer to as 'to be somebody' was also prominent in each narrative. Hence, as one might expect, for the participants joining the military was always a life affirming process of transformation that profoundly shaped their sense of self and worth to a broader set of social relations.

Illegitimate Violence and Discipline

What was immediately striking from the discussions was how most participants were keen to dwell upon their childhoods, with a notable reference made to forms of violence that they had experienced from a young age. This violence was deemed to be "illegitimate" inasmuch as they referred to those acts and themselves at this time as being 'bad'. Noting that participants were not asked directly about crime or violence, their readiness to tell these stories is important. Whilst, I accept that they may have focused on these parts of their young lives because of who I was (a researcher of crime) or because of where they were now (convicted for violence), childhood violence was nevertheless something they were keen to discuss. This became evident from the very first interview with VP 1 who explained:

It was then (at school) I started getting into trouble, erm, and so I ended up leaving school. And then I got myself into a bit more trouble, started getting involved with the police and drugs and that, and then decided to change, well turn my life around and that and er join the army to make something of myself and leave my past behind me like. I was Just always fighting and that and then once I got into drugs and that it got out of control, I never er, I stopped school completely, I was getting arrested all the time, I was drinking all the time, being out all the time, just never going home really. It went downhill from there. (laughter) where do I start with this, well I probably started fighting in primary school . And it just went from there over stupid things most of the time it's when I have been in pub and erm... don't know ... say if somebody bangs into you and spills your pint and then doesn't buy you one back or says something to your bird or something like then they get banged don't they? Or someone is giving one of my mates shit or something then we are a big group of lads so it usually ends up in big pub brawls or something or if we are walking home from town and meet other groups of lads and that like then it goes off or when I had a Mrs and they grabbed her arse and that. I'd go mad like (laughter)... well it depends like; I will fight sober too like no problem it's just that when I'm bevvied I tend to get into situations like...Well like we had to settle scores like, on our estate kids would be talking about my mum and that or fights would be arranged sometimes for money for my mum and that like and then you get a name then don't you and every little dickhead wants a pop – it was

just my way, it was just the way we lived back then, you don't really think about it you just do it. And that's it really, nothing more to tell then. Was just a bit of a wrongon luv (laughter).

(VP 1)

Stories of this kind were frequently the first offered by participants. Each narrative began with a time when they had been in trouble with either their school or with the police for violent behaviours, which were nevertheless presented as part of everyday life. It was significant in that all participants felt that this was the start of their life history. From the outset they identify themselves as violent subjects born of conflicting relations. Invariably, what this points to is the normalisation of violence before joining the military. VP1 is clear to stress that violence was something that became normal to him from primary school, often fighting for others (his mother, girlfriend, and friends) as well as in his own name. It was also important for him to explain his orchestrating role in arranged violence, as well as participating in more spontaneous assaults, having either taken substances or not. While the situation may vary, the response was always a violent one. What is also important to note is how disciplinary processes are skimmed over, for while he speaks of exclusion from school and being known to the police, these matters were of little consequence. This was consistent with the testimonies offered by other participants. Disciplinary action was not something that was a deterrent from violence; instead it was a deterrent from living the lives they desired. In a similar vein VP 9 began:

So yeah a good childhood yeah, no worries at all really (4 second pause) well apart from school (laughter) erm I got excluded from school a few times for being the class clown. Erm, nothing major,

nothing traumatic or that just erm, well I didn't lose any family member or anything like until I was older enough to realise what's what. And erm that was it really. Oh god yeah, erm, I got excluded, yeah I was the class clown basically erm we had a group of us, not bullying but erm pushing people in corridors like you know to each other and that like and being a class clown... stupid stuff and basically I regret it (laughter) I look back and think what an absolute idiot (laughter) but er, yeah I got excluded three times, a few times for fighting and er what else was it? Er yeah just fighting basically and being an idiot Erm, different schools, we used to meet up with different schools and have battles in the part across the way, we would have battles. We would have to see who was the hardest school in Salford basically and we always won apart from one school that starting forming called the Albion they had a bit of touch of tough nuts in their year and that was really it was a bit like warriors the film (laughter) basically (laughter) that's what it was like really, nothing major like... Erm, arranged through phones basically, we would know people who knew people in other schools and they would be like come on then we'll meet up and have a battle and that's how it would start. Meet up and have an ice-cream off the ice-cream van before we'd start, and then we'd start fighting, it's a bit mad really, it were like an old war if you think about it like that (laughter) all mates and then fighting the next minute and so yeah and that was it really... That was since I was in year nine til I left school in year eleven... yeah.... A

few people got hurt like nothing major a few cuts a bruises and that.

That was part of being a lad wasn't it in them days? (VP 9)

Once more arranged violence was an entry point into the life of VP9 and humour used to express this experience. Just as VP1 had claimed to be a 'wrongon', VP9 speaks of being an 'absolute idiot', though claims are justified as part of being a lad. What is notable here is the use of military metaphor in the recounting of the experience. Along with his repeated exclusion from the school system, there is a need to express the desire to be involved in 'battles' with terms such as 'warriors' used excitedly. The narrative also points to the desire to achieve self-fulfilment by becoming "the toughest" as this bestowed a clear identity - not just within the confines of a particular school - but to a wider social gathering. It is interesting he also speaks to 'an old war', gesturing perhaps to the ways these very intimate and personal forms of violence are in marked departure from subsequent violence experienced in service that are more technologically determined (see chapter two).

Blaming Faceless Mothers

The next theme to appear across VP narratives was holding their mothers responsible for their violence. Eleven of the eighteen VPs had been in some form of social care as child. This in itself speaks to broken family relationships that are common in the broader offending population. The most recent statistics for care leavers who end up in prison is 23% for the wider population, however that figure rises to 40% for those in custody under 21 (The Who Cares Trust 2015). This urges us to question what the difference is with these young men aside from the military had been added to these young men's experience of institutions. I will return to this in the next chapter to illustrate how it is the reality for so many VPs to move from one institution to another; from care, to the

military and then often to prison. Institutionalisation here was not however considered a problem for participants, and certainly not something they felt that led them to the military. Instead it was almost always attributed to their mother and her parental neglect (VP1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 14 all held mothers responsible). We have already heard from VP1 how he had been involved in arranged fights to gain money for his mother as a child. He continues:

I just always had to settle scores for my Mum like she was a baghead and would owe money to men. Was better than hearing them shagging her (laughter). She was a tit. Even when I joined it was always 'you got any money' that she asked first as I got home. Then she gave evidence against me in court for sparking out her fella who was abusing her. Ruined my life her didn't she? Having nothing to do with her every again.

Violence is not perceived as the cause of ruination here. What is more problematic is the fact that the recourse to violence as a form of "surrogate justice" against domestic abuse wasn't respected and appreciated. In the second interview I asked if he could tell me a little more about this relationship with his mother; 'She is a dickhead' was his response. Yet when VP1 spoken about men, they had faces, personalities and purpose. It was a different relationality based on some original respect that immediately recognised their subjectivity. In contrast, for VP1 and others, their mothers did not have face just a series of deviant behaviours that had impacted against them in negative ways. The mother was not a victim in the story; she was the person who was ultimately responsible for the offender's victimisation. Further compelling evidence can be found in VP8's descriptions:

My Mum was so strict that we just never saw eye to eye at all, the second I could join the army cadets I did just to get away from the constraint. We just clashed really, if anything went wrong it was my fault. No questions asked. She didn't believe in freedom of speech (laughter) I was adopted like so she didn't treat me like my sister at all – she was really hers and that showed. She would really kick off all the time, I could do nothing right at all for her. I was just in the way of her perfect little world. Especially when we moved to a posher area like she really was something then and I didn't fit in to her posh dreams at all. She was pleased when I got off I think (laughter) don't speak to her at all now like. The second I could I left for the army. Don't even know if she still lives in posh land (laughter). She'd be over the moon with me being a criminal I bet (laughter). My Dad was sound like, I miss him sometimes it wasn't his fault. He was sound. People said he looked like me that didn't know I was adopted. He was big too and had cheeky face. Don't know how he ended up with her at all. Baffles me! He worked really hard and got as much shit as I did from her.

A number of things are apparent here. There is a continuation of blame attributed to the female relations in his life – mother and stepsister included. The father however is a point of identification - from the hardness of work, even to forms of facial association of sorts. We also get a sense here that VP8 does not identify with fitting into the schema of social mobility and ambition that his mother longed for. And it seems for that reason; he has developed a feeling of not being good enough for her such that the 'posh' world he refers

to reveals a clear sense of resentment. Once more, there is no recognition of mother's identity and subjectivity, just how her actions contrasted to his better interests and how this made him feel.

To be somebody

Although it is common for some of the literature to blame the military for the criminality of returning veterans (see chapter 2 and 3), it is important to be mindful that participants (and with confidence, no new recruit) don't join the military to become a violent veteran. The opposite is true. These young men join the military as a positive and affirming life experience.

I don't think the country appreciates it, I don't buy into the politics of it all... I like thinking that my son will be able to say his Dad was a good soldier. All this for queen and country or to kill the Muslims I don't buy that. I go to be somebody, to be somebody for my son to look up to. Fuck the queen (laughter)... (VP 11)

As Zoe Alker & Barry Godfrey (2015: 77) astutely remind us, the military was actually once considered 'an opportunity for divergence and desistance from crime'. In fact young men were often sentenced to military service instead of prison in the period from the 1700's until the end of World War 2 in the belief that this would offer an opportunity to end their criminal careers. The participants of this study also believed in that diversion that Alders & Godfrey explore:

I know for me it was army or prison. I was in with a bad crowd and was on my final strike with the police so that was that really. I went down the army office in the town and they looked at my record but

because I hadn't been done for arson or drugs I was OK to get in so I signed up there and then for basic. Felt better as soon as I walk out of there. I tell all the young lads that are fucking about to join up. See the world, good money... be somebody not a fucking nobody. (VP 2)

Each participant echoed these sentiments that by joining the military they could embody something more positive. It is all about 'being somebody' in contrast to a life of no recognisable status now. In retrospect this was said with a notable sense of a tragic foreboding. Although this is not something that is discussed in the criminology of war literature, or in the desistance literature for that matter (aside from Alders & Godfrey's study), it does resonate with theories that aim to understand why people move away from crime. Both theories of desistance in criminal justice policy and practice, individuals are encouraged to find employment, a home, gain strong social bonds and practice routine and discipline. This is based on the belief that when social capital is weak social controls breaks down which leads to criminality (Sampson & Laub 1993). Even when VP 4 explains that he was not escaping crime, similar themes emerge from his narrative.

Like I had a good life you know, scraps and scrapes and like I said I got excluded but then I got a job in retail and had a few quid about me and was doing OK. I had always watched the old army films with my granddad and like I loved him. He was a great man. He had been in the Welsh Guards so I just decided that I wanted to join and make him proud, like the same regiment. Make something of myself like instead of spending the rest of my life in shitty retail job. I wanted to be like my Grandad and the films (laughter).

The military offered VP4 a greater sense of purpose in life through reskilling, which in turn, allowed him to positively identify with a celebrated member of his family, his Grandfather. The masculine trope once again appears all too evident. What is more, as the veterans reflected back upon the positive transformation in their subjectivity, participant's self-awareness of their bodies became more and more apparent. As they discussed preparations for military training, each participant spoke of the need to get fit and how in through that process of bodily transformation they distanced managed to themselves from the lives they longed to leave behind. For VP2 this was about realising a different physical strength:

Once they tell you what date you are going then you just got to really rank up the training and cut out all the booze and messing about. I had always been strong but as in nobody could beat me an arm wrestle strong not the strength they needed. I had always been quick too – running away from coppers (laughter)... so yeah the thing was then I had to get a different type of fit and stop smoking weed and dossing about. My mates didn't get it at all and it was hard because I couldn't afford a gym or anything so would run in the park and make weights with all sorts – branches and that and asked my mate for any old tyres from his Dads place. Just trained everyday leading up to it. It was good you know actually it was good. I could see my guns taking shape (laughter) and felt better for it. They had changed me before I even got there as mad as that sounds.

Here VP2 becomes aware of his physical self, and perhaps more importantly, that his body was 'needed' by the military. He doesn't talk here of the personal needs and desire, but

even before joining there is an appreciation that his body is to be given over as a function of the broader military machine. The preparing of the body for basic training was a common theme, with nine of the participants speaking positively about the process (VP2, VP3, VP5, VP7, VP9, VP10, VP 11, VP15 and VP17). The narrative from VP 10 was very powerful as he claimed:

I just trained and trained and trained – looked it all up on the computer like the boot camp websites and just trained every day for five weeks until I threw up. I never stopped until I threw up and my body couldn't take anymore. I knew what was coming was worse and that only this type of work before I got there would get me through. I became aware of my lungs and stopped smoking and aware of my skin so I drank more water (and less beer – laughter). I had always been fit but this wasn't about winning on sports day anymore. I needed an Olympic fitness, strength and resilience and that was going to take courage. Some mornings I was so stiff and tired I wanted to cry but those the moments that I needed most when I got there because every morning is like that. I would look down at my body in the shower and say come on lad we can do this like it was my best friend (laughter).

It was almost as if in these moments leading up to basic training participants became aware of the positive uses of their bodies and took pride in pushing them to the extreme. As, I will go on to show, these interpretations and awareness of their body, as something to be tested is a recurrent theme.

Military Training: Learning a violent trade

The production of military subjectivities is the outcome of a complex system of training. It points to intensive and concentrated processes, which begins with basic training and selection processes so many fail to get through (Brown 2015). In this section I will address notable experiential elements of that training as they appear important to the VP's recounting. What become apparent are the both notable commonalities and differences in terms of expectations and experiences. While for the Army, for example, the training is over three phases that lasts between 12 and 16 weeks, for the Royal Marines the training is 32 weeks long (MoD Website 2015). Both however rely upon creating very intensive conditions that challenge the body and mind of the soldier. It is intended to decide whether or not individuals have the physical and mental capacity required for their new role, which the MoD website explains is a process that gets you 'ready to serve'. Each VP, in this study completed this training and brought them a great sense of pride. It was only upon passing these series of tests that individuals were considered a military subject, as symbolically evidenced by full uniformity (notably the achievement of full military dressage befitting the soldier). This process in the army was described by VP6:

Right well I joined in 2007 I started doing all my barb training, and the north sea, erm passed my selection and started my training in 2007 in Catterick in North Yorkshire and that was a seven month course and I loved it. It was absolutely mint going from a civvy to army life like was mint, it was a big transition like as you can imagine but I absolutely loved it. To be honest I don't want to sound like I'm

bragging but I thought it was breeze me like, I really did, cause I passed out best recruit as well so I thought it was alright. Not many people will say that but I loved it, absolutely loved it... Other lads were dropping like flies but I knew straight away I had done the right thing.

It is evident in VPs recollections of his training this was something he remembers fondly. He is all too aware of the 'transition', and that through this process he was no longer a civilian (which he and others refer to a civvy throughout). What is also important for him is how easy he found the gruelling experience. He found achievement in a competitive ethos, while self-worth by passing out as the 'best recruit'. At no time did he suggest this was a problematic process for him. Instead it was life affirming and transformative. He continued:

Yeah, like I say it isn't like Civvy life up at 9 and work til 5 or any of that it was up at 5.30 polishing boots and all that, mopping and swabbing and all that and er... then doing fitness at about three or four hours a day and then you are doing rifle lessons and then you are doing drill lessons and they give you basic information about the army, what the army is about and that, er, so yeah it's like being back at school really, except for the weapons of course, yeah I absolutely loved it me, I really did... I loved it me, absolutely loved it, to get your hands on the rifle and a GPMG, then obviously you've got the LMG, just learning different weapon systems basically. How to take them apart and how to clean them and stuff like that. I enjoyed it me, I really did, I've always, not in a weird way, I've always grown up like

looking at the army so like I'm in to all weapons and all that stuff.
Obviously all the aircraft and that and the tanks so I was proper keen
into it and as soon as I got in I was like – yes! (Laughter) I know what
to do here, well I thought I did (laughter)

(VP 6 Army)

Here we see how institutionalisation in itself is not a problematic condition – it was after-
all 'like being back at school'. What matters then is the logic and purpose of the
institutional setting: a disciplinary environment in which violence and extreme
competition is actively promoted and valued. We witness this in the real sense of
achievement and excitement found in this specific routine. This was in stark contrast to
earlier sections in VP6's narrative in which he speaks passionately about resisting any
form of discipline forced upon him that disrupted his lifestyle. Both informal and formal
modes of social control he had experienced prior to joining had always been a burden
until this point. And yet here he found purpose in the weaponry. This was a familiar story,
with many of the participants wanting to express just how good they had been during this
process (VP1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, and 18). The participants were always
particularly excited when mentioning high-tech machines and weaponry; although as we
see with VP6, it was common for narratives not to reflect upon their purpose.

A military body and a military mind

Having learnt that participants became aware of their body prior to basic training –
narrative about the body and mind continued to emerge as VPs spoke about their
introduction to military life. For VP12 obtaining a military body and mind was the
difference life and death.

Some people tell me I was brainwashed. If I was, then I can honestly say I enjoyed being brainwashed. Personally, I'd like to call it conditioning. The world that Marines live in is often violent. Danger is an accepted hazard and, in order to stay alive, a Marine must think on his feet, react on impulse, and kill without hesitation.

Having found that participants were acutely aware of the conditioning process essential to realising what they understood to be a full military subjectivity, it was also clear that both the body and the mind were given equal importance in their training and preparations for armed combat.

Straight away you are taught that there is a routine but that it could be changed at any time. Like you can plan a patrol in Afghan or on any tour but if you come into contact then you come into contact. I remember the first time we had been allowed to go to bed – we had been up and training all day and night and it was about 4am and I got into bed and everything ached but I was made up with how well I had done. Then just as we fell asleep the bell went off and we had to get up and swim the freezing lake with no top on. It was fucking awful and some of the lads just couldn't do it physically or mentally. I'll never forget it. I remember them shouting that it was all in the mind as I felt my arms go numb in the freezing conditions. I remember thinking you bastards (laughter) but then I did the same to new lads a few years later. It does you no harm. It has to be done and if you can't do it then you will be no good on a tour. You have to be able to be a sort of machine first for the sake of the rest of the lads and think

in a way that isn't about you. If you know what I mean? (VP 7 Royal Marine)

This appreciation of being part of a military machine is of considerable importance. It is all about accepting a mental state of being – it is literally 'all in the mind'. As the body itself is being put to the test in order to prove its worth, here we have a complex interplay that connects the soldier's mental faculty for endurance, with a physical performativity that evidence an ability to thrive in extreme conditions. Furthermore, there was not just a sense here of the 'predictable unpredictability' of the process, more the development of the mind-set that must deal with such conditions. No matter how good your physical fitness, VP7 explains, it is your state of mind that determines whether the body can overcome the demanding tasks at hand. While you may not have time to prepare for these tasks mentally, you have to react instantly as such aptitudes and abilities are needed in combat. This narrative invites us to think about the hierarchies at work here, as VP7 explains, years later he was in a more powerful position where he moves from participant to orchestrator of the conditioning. Now he is tasked with putting the new recruits to the test. The significance of the body features again for VP 9:

They would make you strip naked in the mess while everyone had a look at you like. The first time it was mad. I had been naked around men, you do that all the time in the showers after rugby and that and you know lads they aren't that bothered but this was a real test. You don't get it until a little later that it's to break down any egos and that. Like we are all the same (laughter). Strip you right back not just to no clothes but strip away any ego that wasn't needed. Do you get me? Like it was as much about your mind and your body.

The ritual of giving individuals a military identity in terms of the allocations of numbers, a uniform, dog tags, and a haircut is a narrative that we feel familiar with. Importantly, it is how individuals make sense of that sense of belonging that concerns. A critical reflection of this can be found in Woodward & Jenkins (2011) study of military identities through situated accounts of British Military Personnel. Here, VP9 speaks to a different stripping of the body that brings about an entirely different collective identity. Stripping bare thus appears to be integral to the process of transforming the subject - a performance that quite literally strips away in order to be reconstituted in a different form. Although he narrates this as an uncomfortable event, he also offers a sense of liberation as this exercise renders all male bodies 'the same'. Brown (2015: 123) can be drawn upon once more here as he explained that the principle goal 'of early military training is to remove the sense of individualism from the recruit'. Once achieved, we start to realise the many different ways the body appears as a site from continually intervention – notably in terms of punishment. VP 13 who was also a former Royal Marine explains:

I remember being in the dales training and I was on watch. It was simulation like – not real bullets but if you got shot then you were going to get bollocked (laughter). Anyway, yeah I was keeping watch and it was a Friday night so dickhead here was thinking about my bird at home and must have lost concentration for a little bit and the next minute shot. Not only that another lad I was guarding was. It's not real like, a bit like paint balling but not paint if you get me. Anyway my Sergeant had seen that I had taken my eye off the ball and I, well I had to make all my clothes off and the lads watched and crawl

around in the brambles and neckless for nearly an hour... Wasn't going to that again was I (Laughter)? I was even stupider to tell him what I was thinking about. They laughed and took the piss for about a year I bet it was. But I wasn't trusted again for a long time – I was thought of as a bit of a fanny like. I was gutted. Finished with her after that you can't let the lads down over a girl it isn't like being a civvy like lives are at risk (VP 13 Royal Marine).

The body then, is not only at risk of injury by the enemy, it can be subject to punishment by the military. This is important, as we will see in the next chapter, VPs do not appear to be effected by punishment in the same way as what we may expect. They had been taught to accept that if you make a mistake then punishment inevitably follows as a matter of routine. VPs almost expected this, with some proudly recalling how they went to the police to hand themselves in after the offence. Or as VP2 put it 'got to take it on the chin haven't you, own up like, if you do the crime you do the time, simple as that really.' For our concerns in this chapter, however, VP13 offers another common trope through this response, one where personal relationships were not permitted to get in the way of the military goals under any conditions. His desires and longings for previous bodily relations were in fact a dangerous distraction; something that put himself and the lives of others at risk. Militarised bodies as such represent something far greater than inter-personal relationships. It is part of a much greater system of belonging and meaning, demanding of allegiance and priority. Unfortunately, with so many VPs committing their index offense against their partners upon return, there is something to be said here about the subtle ordering of priorities for young recruits and the ways in which violence manifests

and is justified to the detrimental effacement of feminine subjectivities. This is returned to in the following chapters.

Normalising the extreme

After recruits have passed out, these military subjects are assigned to a base as they wait for their deployment. Although many spoke of the security they found in these settings, one final theme notably emerged from their experiences of these living environments, as preparation for deployment pointed to a threshold condition between the extreme and the normal. VP 6 claims that ‘once you kill the rabbit, everything else seems like child’s play’. In the weeks leading up to deployment, two Royal Marines (VP 6 and VP 13) explained they were each given a rabbit and told to look after it, while encouraged to spend most of their down time caring for its welfare. The idea, they were told, was to keep a caring reality in focus whilst training for war. This they recounted fondly even noting how beautiful the animal was and the joy it brought to them. Then, one day completely unexpected they were ordered to kill their pet within 15 minutes, as this would be their evening meal. VP 6 continued:

This is the first time you kill something but worse you aren’t given a gun but this is about killing something you have cared for with your hands. I’ll be honest I fucking hated it. Really hated it. I know it wasn’t a human like but killing in afghan wasn’t as bad as that. But, yeah like I said everything is easy after that.

Making the intolerable acceptable seems to be part of a ritualistic exercise wherein a completely normal undertaking of caring for a pet is transformed into an extremely violent and traumatic experience that ends up normalising violence – for everything is easy after that. For some participant’s this was their first experience of killing, and the

realisation that they had a legitimate power to take a life. This story also signifies the breaking down of moral boundaries and resistance to killing in advance of war. Furthermore, there is a sense of how bringing the body to violence through such intimate killing makes it easier to destroy that which appears more distanced – whether that is the result of technological distancing made real through new weaponry or the distancing between cultures that the soldiers have less in common with. Lt. Col. Dave Grossman (1995), speaks of both the qualitative difference of killing at distance and how the burden of killing is experienced by those at War. VP6 is exposed to this prior to deployment, and it proved effective as he still remembers it as worse than killing at war. Although this was an exceptional experience for VP 6, it was an event that normalised violence.

VP 11 spoke about a similar killing of animals as a way to normalise the violence, but this time the act was not under orders, it was a spontaneous act borne from what he considers comradeship.

I remember biting the head of a mouse in the mess – it was alive and
I just bit its head off (laughter) that is the sort of stuff we would think
was funny. Killing mice with your teeth... Like you would get a laugh
for days after that.

Michele Toomey (1991) provides some insight here through her study of the *price of masculinity based on violence* by explaining that the ‘pressures to speak and act violently are everywhere... Violence is not a deviant act; it is a conforming one’. Such conformity points to an everyday condition in which violence is the principle and defining factor mediating all social relations for militarised subjects. This brings me to the final theme for this section, what I have called ‘fight club’ by drawing upon the participants exact

words, in order to add further evidence to the ways military bodies are brought to violence, such that the extreme is normal and the conditions are set wherein violence becomes ubiquitous to their lived environments.

Fight Club

Violence, in its varying forms, continued to show as a recurring theme throughout the discussions. I was introduced to 'Fight Club' early in the research when three consecutive interviews spoke of this organised form of violence amongst troops as a 'recreational' event.

I would say after alcohol our biggest culture is violence if I'm honest, the rest of it I wouldn't call cultures really, they are just all part and parcel of the job. Drinking and fighting are different they are a social thing, a way to wind down after work. I finish work, have a shower, go to the mess, get drunk, fight and roll into bed, get up in the morning and do it all again, ha! (VP 3)

For VP3, physical violence was a way in which he believed that military personnel relaxed after work alongside alcohol. He went as far as to call this "their culture". This should not be underestimated as it points further to the normalisation of violence in ways that its conditions are constantly recreated – recreationally - and actively internalised as part of everyday living. The literature that concentrates on what Walklate and McGarry (2015:10) call the *troubled and the troublesome* consider that the state has role in 'maintaining a sense of masculinity' in the military in the interest of the war effort, and that this violent role 'is very much part of the state hegemonic state apparatus'. VP3 exposes us to these displays of violence as masculinity is being absorbed into social

activities away from training and combat. This is yet to be dealt with properly by the literature. Especially, as VP4 intimates, Fight Club is an enjoyable social event:

Probably best to remember the fighting isn't always squaddies against civvies, most of the time we fight with each other, most of the time fighting is just a laugh, you don't have to be angry, I'm, not an angry person but I fight all the time I think it's funny, I used to love fight club, have you heard of that?... It was class, get bladdered and fight, ha. We thought it was perfect, I remember getting excited about it (Laughter)' (VP 4).

This story of Fight Club, as something that is desired points to another area not dealt with by military scholarship, namely that military personnel often fight with one another on a daily basis. This is drawn out further in chapter six as participants explain how they would fight with one another during their deployment. What is also striking here however is the claim that you 'don't have to be angry to fight'. Speaking to a military condition of normalised violence, or perhaps a learned display of aggression that is separate from emotion. It also teaches the need for forgiveness as part of being a comrade.

Every Friday is Fight Club, you don't have to get involved but if you are not going to fight then you cannot watch either, so everybody goes, you never leave sober so that can only be seen as a bonus (laughter). So well, basically fight club is when we all err.. well we go down stairs, down half an bottle of JD or sometimes a mixture made up by the lads, you drink until you are nearly sick and are then thrown in to the middle of the room to fight with one of the lads, who

has also been drinking to the point of sick next to you, its mad it could be your best mate, you never know who you are going to have to fight with (Laughter) (VP 5).

Taken together these testimonies speak to an endemic culture of violence that creeps into everyday recreational activities. There is an element of arranged violence here that is met with spontaneous involvement in these events. It is important to emphasise here that engaging in activities such as this in the civilian jurisdiction would be a criminal offence. Hence, this arrangement speaks to military subjects operating outside of the normal juridical order not only whilst at war but also whilst on bases – in their ‘homes’ and possibly amongst friends.

Bringing Bodies to Violence

How then does one bring this new military subjectivity to violence in theatres of war? Can simulations, cultures and training ever truly prepare military subjects for the reality of killing and facing environments where they may even be killed? VP1’s testimony forces us to consider the real sense of vertigo and terrors deployment brings. He explains:

When we were coming into land, when the lights go off on the place and that and you get a bit nervous then like, they start telling you to put your body armour on and that and then you er land in camp bastion and then I think I was in there for about a day and it was just, well it was exciting at first and you get flew out in helicopters and that, but the helicopters get shot at... and you don’t know what’s going on below.. you are shitting yourself... live rounds these (laughter) and then you land into a fob – a forward observation base

and I spent the next 6 months in there – you made that your home for 6 months, and just every day was getting attacked, getting mortared and that, or RPG's and that, they were trying to attack the bases and that, it was like you are always on your guard, not getting much sleep and that... you didn't much get much sleep for that 6 months, you were just eating rations, you lost all your weight... just constantly out every day on patrol... I lost my boss, erm he was getting the gym stuff, he was like shot in the head, while he was leaving the gym on the fob, and one of my mates lost his leg, in the back on a Land Rover with a mine on the side of the road. It's fucking awful out there but an adrenaline rush too. (VP1)

Both the physical and mental endurance learned in training meets the reality of hunger, fatigue, and grief, along with the coming into contact with the realities of wartime violence (what he terms live rounds). For McGarry *et al* (2015), it is important to analyse what is at stake here within a critical sociological framework that addresses the question of resilience. How can the soldier continue to thrive in the face of on-going threats to their very survival? Their research leads us to the *Army Doctrine Publications: Operations* and the cultural narrative it provides on coping with warfare. As it suggests, once deployed:

The British Soldier should embody a warrior spirit. He should be tough, resilient, and innovative, highly motivated, and compassionate. He should have an offensive sprit and desire to get to grips with adversaries and challenges. He should not hesitate to engage in combat – to fight – using controlled violence when necessary. (MoD *Army Doctrine* 2-8 para 02A9)

I was especially concerned with investigating how participants experienced these unique states of being – with particular interest in their first exposure to combat. This section offers how VPs narrated that experience. Leo Tolstoy's (1962) 'War and Peace' can be used as an invitation here into this theme, notably when he claims that his interest in war was not about the strategy of war *but the reality of war, the actual killing*. Killing was something that all participants *wanted* to talk about. It was integral to the way they made sense of surviving and evidencing resilience by "bouncing back" from daily traumas. Indeed, although it is the culture of the military not to speak about these things (McGarry 2010; Brown 2015), the participants of this study always thought it an important story to tell.

I killed '50 or 60' a day and how they 'didn't think twice after the first one. The shock of how easy it was to kill somebody in comparison to how you imagine is something we all couldn't get over at the time – like the first tour you start to get a bit addicted to it, It is your job, well it's your job for that 6 or 7 months and fuck them, to Afghans life is cheap, and you have to believe their life is cheaper than your own like (VP 11).

Whilst we have no way of validating the death statistics caused at the hands of VP 11, he was particularly keen to discuss killing in a way that went beyond many of the other VPs. As Jamieson (1998: 482) proposes, war grants its combatants an authority to engage in behaviours such as killing and destruction of property in the name of 'duty' and 'military necessity'. Individuals are taken from predominately ordinary homes and communities and are taught to be aggressive, to hate and to kill (Hakeem 1946). Violent behaviour that is largely concealed in civil society 'is provided with a public and legitimate object'

(Jamieson 1998:483). A new perception of brutality thus takes hold, which promotes and legitimises violence as the solution to social problems (Ibid 1998:484). Thereby allowing for otherwise repugnant acts to be seen as 'heroic folly' (Durkheim 1974). What is more, as VP11 tells, once bodies are brought to violence, repeatedly, the process of taking a life that appears less than human (cheapened) becomes easier. In such conditions, as VP14 highlighted, for some resentment towards others effaces any sense of guilt:

All your life you think like that you couldn't kill anyone – that is the ultimate sin, like the line you don't cross and that and leading up to first deployment I was thinking – fuck Jay will you be able to do it – but you honestly don't feel a thing – I waited to start dreaming about voices or even faces or get a least get some sort of guilty feeling but nothing, nothing at all. Weird. (VP 14)

Both participants here speak to the ease and desire for killing that they hadn't expected. For VP 11 it was an ease that came from his perception of how his enemy viewed life. The cheapened life in fact becomes integral to the process of dehumanisation and desubjection as they are merely thought of as 'the Afghan'. Whereas VP 14 invites us to reconsider the image of the body as he claims to have waited for some spectral haunting that didn't happen. As both participants speak of their complex relations to violence against the bodies of others, so they also narrate their understanding of the legitimacy of their violence vis-à-vis their enemies. Hence, just as Hakeem (1946) spoke after World War 2 (as discussed in chapter two), these young men were taught to kill and presented with a reasonable object for their violence that is easily destroyed precisely because of its objectification. What is more, throughout the interviews VPs offered many

accounts of killing as something they came to enjoy, something they believed to have damaged them much less than the literature on post conflict stress and anxiety suggests.

Learning to Enjoy Combat

Building on from this consideration of a desire for violence that is made real in the theatres of war, a second theme merged about the enjoyment of these experiences. Participants narrate being brought to violence during intense moments, which at the time were exciting and led to a sense of fulfilment. For VP4:

Afghanistan is a positive buzz like an adrenaline rush! The only way a civilian could ever understand it is if they successfully had sex whilst sky diving. Imagine what it is like to quit smoking or something – always feeling like there is something missing and you need something to fill it. Getting drunk and doing stupid shit is just a way of relieving the boredom or the ‘come down’ I guess – it is not because of the war it is because of the lack of it (laughter).

Anecdotally, you get a sense that VP4 has really given some thought or is at least appreciative of the logics of war and violence that play out at a clear visceral level – war is something to be felt. VP 7 echoed the same appreciation:

I loved it in Afghan, I would go back tomorrow I really would, it was a buzz, after your first contact you just can’t get enough of it.

Such testimonies might be seen as a contradiction to the data introduced earlier, which alluded to the conditions of war being unsettling and a tiring experienced. However this is a useful contradiction, not only for understanding the complexities of living and fighting through a war, but for nuancing our understanding of veteran criminality. To reference

an argument of Jack Katz (1988: 3), perhaps we should turn some of our attention to ‘the positive... within the lived experience of criminality’ that have become marginal to the conversation. Frequently data now illustrates a need to commit crime for a ‘buzz’ in the moment. More powerfully still, veteran offenders do not consider their criminality to be a product of their time in the military – in fact quite the opposite. As I will evidence in the next two chapters, violence is not simply because of war, rather it can be explained because they left that environment. This needs to be acknowledged as it points to a continuation of war in the minds of soldiers post-deployment. What is more, when attempting to deal with this problem we must be alert to the fact that some men actually enjoy combat. As Louis Simpson famously claims: *The aim of military training is not just to prepare men for battle, but to make them long for it.* This presents some insights into the soldier’s relationship to their own mortality and potential experiences with violence:

You all place too much emphasis on a soldier’s life I think, we are soldiers, we are at war, there is a great chance we will be killed, we know that and yet we still go. Thousands of men and women will have to die before this thing ends... civilians think of death as a far off bad thing, something so hard to reach... but when you are out in Afghanistan and see death all around you, each day, you realise just how close life and death are to each other... you cause death...you can be laughing with your friend and a minute later he is dead, watching a woman and second later she blows up... waiting for lads to come back of an ambush who come back only in pieces. Death could be a second away and we know that, we see it. (VP 10)

Aside from the reappearance here of the dangerous female whose endangerment emphasises something that is embodied in intimate way through close proximity, it is interesting how the ubiquitous nature of death is dealt with through some relationship to humour. Furthermore, as VP11 explains, death is not the real tragedy (as it might be for instance for those civilians who live back home in different conditions); it is a fear of dying that appears more problematic:

You cannot fight until you lose the fear of death – we are told that and you know it. You know it from your first contact. Every now and again lads can't do it when they get there, it's rare like but it happens and that's because they are scared of dying. Death at war is not unnecessary, it is not a shocking, tragic nor a failure, but it is necessary, unavoidable and the only way to eventual success. Do you know that as a sort of evening job I made coffins out there? Like we make the coffins – ha, I bet you hadn't thought about who makes the coffins and how they get there. Funny how little clever people think (laughter) I'm joking, yeah we make them. (VP 11)

The recurring themes between violence, death and humour were consistent in many of the conversations had with the VP's. Whilst making light of the situation is perhaps revealing of the successes of resiliently minded strategies – as humour becomes a form of coping mechanism – it also provides further insight into the social bonds created. Humour signifying what is familiar. And yet, against this backdrop of the most tragic of comedies, sometimes the intolerable (what we might explain as being beyond the threshold at which they can no longer normalise the experience of violence, See Evans & Giroux, 2015) appears all too apparent when the intimate and homely is reconsidered:

You will go a long way before you speak to one of the lads who hasn't lost a friend or come close to death. I've got a picture of Iz, one of the lads that I took about 4 minutes before he died. Blown to bits in front on me and the picture shows his final joke – he had turned round to take the piss out of me and the lads and next minutes gone. I often look at that picture. He looks so relaxed and full of it for somebody in the environment he was in. The others you can see in the distance, fuck I wish I had brought you the picture anyway like it shows the others are serious and he wasn't like he was already dead. Ahh fuck it it's too hard to explain. We write our final letters on the way out there – nothing brings it home like that. Like if we were to die we write the letter that we would want them to receive. (VP 12)

This is not to suggest that the soldiers have no sense of their mortality or that all claims to humanity completely evaporate in the theatre of war. It is however to appreciate how the relationship between the violence as experienced upon and between bodies points to a series of difficult and traumatic stories on behalf of veteran offenders, as they try to come to terms with their actions and use of violence in ways that offer unsettling insight into the realities of warfare:

You become aware of being like candle in the wind (lol)... this one day I lost a young lad. I didn't know if it was me who had taken my eye of the ball or if he was just young. I went mental and ran round the compound kicking off and firing into the air just couldn't cope with it anymore. Next minute I wake up injured. Can't remember it like but I had set a booby trap off and blew up a family and myself.

First I knew of it was when a little afghan girl put she hand on me to reassure me as I was coming round, It was her family I had killed. She didn't have an enemy. I saw her and that was it. I never fought again, we are all fucking victims out there. No winners in this war just fucking victims. That was the end for me as she touched my arm. I was no good to the core after that. Once you have those thoughts you have to go. (VP 7)

Re-imagining the body

As we have seen, VPs adopt a mental image of the military body which appears in pristine physical shape. This resonates with Joanna Bourke's (1996:11) reference to the First World War:

The body was the subject of both imagination and experience. Men could be able-bodied: fortified, forceful, vigorous. Yes, their bodies could also be mangled, freshly tom from the war and competing for economic and emotional resources with civilians... For some theirs was a beautiful physique, adored by other men and cultivated by masculine fraternities... they expressed their freedom through their bodies, but were besieged on all sides by the military.

During all of the interviews, participants were proud of the fact and none of them had lost that image of the body– even once they had left or being discharged. The military body was something they could retain. War of course is not just a space that brings these bodies to fight with the bodies of their enemy. As VP's narrated, bodies presented themselves randomly. Bodies were injured as one may expect, but bodies also had deformed textures, smells, and they had eyes that offered particular gazes which represented claims to life.

Perhaps even more problematic still, for the participants, as we will go on to see, bodies could be beautiful and they could be vulnerable. As VP6 explains:

He blew himself up, smiled at us and then tried to fucking kill us. That's the worst that, come up to me with a gun like and fight but when they walk towards you smiling and you can't shoot even though you just know they are about to blow up. Well the bomb didn't go off properly do he just killed himself – slowly – burnt. We put a fag in his mouth and a British cap in him. Horrible bastard (VP 6).

When VP6 speaks to 'knowing that he can't shoot' he invites us to consider the rules of war. Soldiers must bear their arms openly and cannot engage with another unless they are visibly armed. The realities of war, as remembered by the soldiers are much more than dismembered bodies. It points to an entire field of frustration and sensory perception. A sort of memory recollection where the experience of the violence unsettles rational thinking while it profoundly disrupts any return to normality. As two participants recount:

It doesn't seem real until you pick up a friends arm or have to listen to their final message for their family as you tell you them they will be OK and see life darken and leave from their eyes. Of course they won't be OK but you tell them they will and the chopper takes them to their coffin and you give your head a wobble and then carry on hoping you will remember them, as they were in a few days. It gets personal then though to be honest – those are the most dangerous of

times. That's when you can really fuck up because you lose your rag.

(VP 6)

Suddenly bodies that were once seen as physically fit and prepared for any circumstance, now evidence a vulnerability that participants did not feel prepared for. Whilst VP6 spoke of hoping that these memories would fade in a short while, replaced by earlier memories of his friend, VP13 explains that for him the destruction of bodies followed him home:

You can't even have a roast dinner because the meat smells like war
flesh I mean burning flesh – surprising that isn't it – has anyone ever
told you that – what it is like to smell a body cooking. (VP 13)

Bourke (1996) invites us to consider here how death is met with a sensory experience that cannot be sanitised. The familiar and comforting peace time meal traditionally enjoyed now reminds VP13 of the burning flesh of war. Associations such as this bring the war back home in ways that quantifiable research cannot possibly capture or detail with any sense of its visceral qualities. Again this points to something not considered in those literatures that deals (from a psychological perspective) with times of risk that might trigger veteran's traumatic memories. This account suggests a more complex process of recollection linked not only to imagery, known as flashbacks, rather how veterans may also be haunted by their senses. Beautification and vulnerability thus presented themselves here in very complex, challenging and yet highly sensual ways. Here we have a testimony, which again adds further layers to the gender relations at work here, as the desirability of Oriental women once theorised by Edward Said (2003) appears:

The women are the worst! Like we are there to protect them and then they walk toward you with a pram and blow up. Fucking mad heads. I had seen this one girl a few times. Like you don't expect it, not sure why but have you ever seen an afghan girl? Course you have, sorry, I just mean like they are fucking stunning some of them. Really fit. Anyway I saw her a few times. She would smile and I would smile back. Not knowing what to feel about her. Then she blew up in front of me. Unfuckingbelievable Em, there she was, fit, then gone. In pieces. The blast knocks you off your feet and you have your own lads to deal with – are they injured? Are they dead? The anger sets in but you can't help but wonder about her. Why like? (VP 6)

It is striking that VP6 ends here by asking "why?" Above VP7 narrated the problems of asking why – the consequences he believed of questioning the war were to leave the military. The final point for the section adds a complexity to this narrative. That is to give voice to VP9 account of his first experience of combat.

My head went a bit funny when I got there so didn't end up finishing that tour, I wasn't allowed to fight there because my head went a bit funny... er.. But that was it really, I should finished that tour but I couldn't so... er... like I couldn't do it. We came into contact and I just couldn't do it. Like you are there trying to remember your skills and your drills and After my mate was stabbed in the Falklands it just seemed a bit mad and I'm glad I didn't in a way cause I lost a lot of good mates out there so that's the thing with me Em I have a lot of self-loathing like if I'd stayed could I have done something to stop

that happening to them and that's messed my head up even more to be honest with you. I lost a lot of good mates and obviously I regret that. I do to this day, I wake up every day and think about it regretting it and thinking I could have stayed, what if I stopped it, stopped them getting killed or just injured, you know what I mean? That was it after that, I was sent home... fucking basket case. Ended up in Colchester because when I got back I assaulted the Mrs and when a lad laughed and laughed at the war I just saw red like starting hitting him over the head and the next day I took my riffle out like, like off the base and shot it. So glasshouse for me. Then moved here. A basket case, like I obviously just wanted to prove to myself that I could do it like, like I could fight.

VP9 was the only participant who was unable to 'fight' in Afghanistan. In Grossman's (1995: 30) chapter '*Why couldn't Jonny Kill?*' He asks why some soldiers refuse to kill the enemy, even in instances where such a refusal may endanger their own lives and others. Inviting us to consider the 'conscientious objector', Grossman proposes there is a culture to obscure these realities of war and write out the stories of these men in favour of the hero who could. Whilst this was an isolated disclosure during this research, it nevertheless demands attention. Not least, since VP 9's inability to carry out his duty meant that once at home the inability to engage in violence results in being labelled 'a basket case'. The war for VP9 however continued once back in the domestic sphere. There was no simple on/off button. Indeed, while he may not have been able to defend the rationale for the war or embody it whilst deployed in the theatre, violent became easier

when back on home soil. Bringing him to peace was just as difficult as bringing him to violence.

Bringing Combat Bodies and Minds to Peace

How then do these combat bodies and minds return to peace? Who is the man who stands in a public space 72 hours after a sustained period of time in a combat zone? Is he automatically a veteran? A man who is proud and who tells stories of war as though it was a history? Or is he still the military subject as unable to simply detach himself from his experiences? Perhaps he is still fighting a war that even those stood with him know nothing about? It became evident that for many, after a tour of duty their military subjectivities were changed in ways that were unsettling and on occasions mundane and banal:

72 hours after you are packing up your kit in Afghan you can be stood
in a pub with a pint listening to Wet Wet Wet on the jukebox
(laughter) (VP 14).

These men had been to war and assumed a higher political status than those who had not. This resonates with VP9's experience of not being able to engage in warfare once deployed, along with the opinions of the CJP's charged with their management post-conviction (see chapter 7). For all the participants, war had left a mark. Walklate and McGarry (2015b) urge us to consider here the *traces* of war left up the body – from the death count, the physical injury, the psychological cost to the crime statistics that implicate them in crime post deployment. Such traces they argue are in need of treatment and support. Medical, psychological and even financial care is plentiful. Of course, this is dependent upon whether those provision are pursued and accepted by veterans – which

is another problem McGarry (2010) identifies by exposing a culture which refuses to seek help by these young men. Nevertheless those traces are visible, even if they sanitised by popular discourse. For Walklate and McGarry (2015b: 191) the traces that are less visible are those that require our attention. The less visible for these authors are the criminological and victimological capacities of the veteran that place him in an unresolved tension. Such traces are:

A product of not just the traces of war's violence's on them as individuals... but as a product of the traces of the violence's of war that maybe perpetrated by them but of behalf of the state.

The argument that war is brought back to the homeland is to also seek to unearth the experiential claims about the continuum of war once the soldier is demobilised by some official notification or decree. The experiences offered by VPs illustrate an attitude towards war that is not only manifest themselves in individuals, its traces cannot simply be left on the battlefields:

I was fucking low when I got back like, it's bad. Even seeing family and friends that you can't wait to see is short-lived. It's boring. They don't really know what to say to you, you can't find words to say much to them. They don't understand what matters to you, like it's weird. The distance. Family are like strangers. I could tell my bird wanted to say 'have you killed someone?' That is all anyone want to know. Out there the days fly by, gone in a flash, exciting you know... You get back and it's gone. I drank and drank and drank and each

morning was surprised to hear of yet another fight I had had the night before. (VP 2)

Whilst VP2 longed for the excitement of war, VP3 spoke of a longing for the destruction of war:

I would walk down the street and want to blow the windows out of the buildings, why is everything so normal? We are at war and I want the street to look like that, like it is never about the war here it is about learning to live in Civvy Street again (VP 3).

In the early stages of the research, it was apparent that the positive experiences of war were met with a real disenchantment for the society that they 'have served'. Coming home was not the subsequent experience they had imagined when on tour. Indeed for VP 2 or VP 3 (or all participants for that matter), it was a come down. What is more VP 10 highlights to us another recurring theme of considerable importance; the unimaginable distance created with civilians:

I think it's just something that gets drilled into you all the time, there's no point in talking about, they can never understand it so there's no point in telling someone who won't understand the scenario and obviously the pressure and the intensity of what's happened, they're never going to grasp it so it just becomes normal not to tell them but then there is only so much of nothing that you can say (laughter). It's to protect them as much as you like (VP 10).

Such sentiments of protection are invariably in contrast to the displays of violent behaviours prior to conviction. Such accounts thus feed into the need to fight to defend

the integrity of war, and by that token to extend it by the means of violent behaviours on domestic soil.

To defend or extend the war

Participants were acutely aware that the society they came back to didn't always welcome. Distinctions between the conflicting nature of tours and the security of the home were more complicated than is often acknowledged in criminological explanations. To make sense of this fully, we therefore need to consider not just how they experience society, but how society in turn experience them and what they have come to embody:

We know, as surely as we know we are alive, that the whole human race is dancing on the edge of the grave... The easiest and worst mistake we could make would be to blame our present dilemma on the mere technology of war... It is our attitudes toward war and our uses for it that really demand our attention. (Dyer 2004)

As participants narrated their violence post-deployment, each continued to defend the war, even though they understand that society's attitudes were more contested. VP9 embodied this by committing a serious violent assault in reaction to a civilian who 'laughed' about the war. This was not an isolated story. Although VP9 felt he has something else to prove, every participant in the study spoke of being victimised for their associations to the military and war. This is a theme I had personally not expected, and is one altogether absent from the literatures on violent veterans today. Hans Toch and Bertrem Karon (1992) distinguished three categories that violent offenders fall into; the 'self-image demonstrator', the 'self-image defender' and the 'reputation defender'. These

typologies are useful for here as veterans often assumed each of these identities in their narrations. As VP 12 illustrates:

Like every little knob head has something to say about the war don't they or they did with Iraq like. It would always go off like you don't get the respect that people like or like dear old George does down the legion or anything like that. Like you wouldn't believe it – it can make you a target. Well you got to put the little pricks straight haven't you. I have spent many a night in a cell over Iraq. Mad that isn't it?
(Laughter)

VP12 clearly identifies here with the public hostility for the war in Iraq; hence he is appreciative that the battle over his conduct is not over when he returned to the UK. For VP14 this anger was less about how the public perceived the war, but what their priorities appeared to be.

I used to get angry when I would come home and all people wanted to talk about what fucking x-factor or when a lad died and it was last on the news not first but now I just think fuck you all, fuck the country and the queen (laughter) like I don't think they care about the war at all do they? I learned that trying to make people care by throwing my first around is pointless so now I just think that I did for the lads and because there are bad people out there. I joined to be some kind of big shot looking back and for a while I was but when I joined I thought everyone would thank me like and they don't nobody cares about it.
(VP14)

Many participants also expressed the need and moral necessity to defend their actions on their return, which fell far short of the hero's welcome they had expected. As VP 17 notes:

You see we hadn't won the war had we, not like Falklands or that, we hadn't won. Our biggest achievement was surviving. You get back and feel proud, it feels good and friends and family are cheering and you feel proud and sometimes people will buy you drinks for it like and shake your hand which is nice. But haven't won a war – a battle maybe – but not a war. To be fair for a s many people buy you a drink there are the same amount of people that want to give you a piece of their mind about the war like – about us having blood on our hands. I have blood on my hands when I'm finished with them (laughter) little pricks.

This becomes more complex as the violence carried out in the name of the war was conducted so often in a military fashion. What I mean by this is that participant's crimes often involved firearms, hostage scenes and a real need to overcome a perceived threat. Participants spoke of tying up their partners during the assault or reacting without thinking to somebody behind them. Each crime was a personal event and although I am reluctant to draw too many commonalities or generalising, participants all described how they conducted the offence as attributable to advanced skills they had acquired in the military.

Conclusion: The violent biography of the veteran offender

In this chapter I have drawn upon the narratives of VPs to bring the violent subjectivities of VPs prior to their conviction to light. In order to address how VPs narrated their sense

of self post-conviction, it is important to get a sense of who they were and their relationship to violence. This is not just to explore the narratives that explain these subjectivities, it is to render what Miller & Rose (2008: 7) refer to the 'techniques of subjectivities' more clear from the experience of military subjects. That is to explore the 'aims, methods, targets, techniques and criteria in play when individuals judged and evaluated themselves and their lives' (see chapter three). What this discussion has animated is the series of transformative processes wherein the complexities of military training and experiences in theatres of war are brought back home. Although the data has been arranged into a series of common themes, it is however clear that each of the participants experienced these events in very different ways. I am not therefore suggesting a uniform experience. Instead, it is to deal with the way in which the story of the soldier (and how they identify themselves) reveals to us the production of an excessive violent category, and how bodies are brought to violence in ways that necessarily place them outside of the domestic juridical order. This is particularly apparent in the ways the soldiers perceive themselves. Although these men are not in combat every day, through their sense of self they continue to embody a combatant who continues to be part of a permanent state of warfare that takes many different forms.

Against so much of the literature, this mind-set does not begin at war or can it be neatly parcelled into pre and post war boxes. Basic training bestows upon them an identity that means they must commit violence in the name of peace. Their actions, at this stage are in excess of the juridical order; through which a culturally conditioned violent subject is liberated. The liberated subject is then taken to legitimate opportunities of extreme violence where training war is met with war. They become completely oblivious to bodies at the same time as being acutely aware of them. Such is the paradox of war. Once

demobilised, the soldier still embodies this subjectivity, if only to be affirmed in their hearts and minds.

Key here has been the need to foreground veteran's experiential claims in relation to power and violence. In doing so, this chapter has been concerned with the fact that many veterans explain their crimes through a vocabulary of war and military customs. It also attends to the challenging claims regarding what this violence means for war; onto these crimes is actually further evidence of the collapse between the inside and outside? From this perspective, since the narrative offered points to forms of violence conducted by military bodies whilst at war, onto further forms of violence committed upon their return, thereby offering no clear separation in the life of the soldier, it is concluded that conventional security understanding (and often disciplines) are disrupted (Murray 2015). The next chapter looks to how VPs speak of themselves post-conviction and, as that chapter will show, it is the subjectivities narrated here that form the basis of their thoughts.

Renegotiating the Military Identity

Introduction

This chapter now moves the discussion from the narratives that speak to VPs lives prior to conviction, to those experiences offered by VPs about their experience of the criminal justice process and their sentence and life since. The themes that were shared in chapter five continue to be important, as this chapter will demonstrate, with VPs often relying upon their previous lives to make sense of their conviction and sentence. By continuing to discover VPs biographical histories this chapter is concerned with how their subjectivities are renegotiated post-conviction and how VPs make sense of this process. As with chapter five, this chapter addresses the second research aim for this thesis:

1. To provide a platform for narratives offered by convicted veterans that fall outside of dominant discourse, with particular reference to how veterans understand their criminality.

By exploring the narrative offered by VPs about their lives before sentence this chapter also speaks to my second and third research question (see chapter one):

2. What are the limitations of this legally framed approach?
3. How does the veteran convicted of a violent offence in England make sense of their crime and their new identity as a criminal?

The data collated during the research that addressed questions attending to the renegotiations of identity from national defender to national offender, enabled a critical reading of the narratives offered by VPs that addressed the fundamental issues of power as understood through a veteranality framework, onto systems of knowledge and modes of resistance. As VPs tell their experience of becoming a criminal they do so by specifically situating their experience in processes of subjectification, which have a profound impact upon their former military subjectivities. In doing so, VPs directly speak to the technologies that are at work upon them and their resistance to those processes. The military body and mind continued to be important as did violence, discipline and blame (see chapter five).

This chapter has four sections each corresponding to a key theme that developed through my analysis. I begin with the narratives offered by VPs that seek to make sense of their new subjectivity as they are now considered a veteran offender. What appears significant for VPs is their veteran status is seen to set them apart from other criminals, while their criminal status sets them apart from other veterans. There are in fact divorced of the political agency on both counts. Any sense of self that was gained through military training - 'to be somebody' - is now put into question. In fact, their only connection with the past is founded on the categorical differences set with respect to crimes committed by civilians. Having set out these arguments from VP's narratives, the chapter then moves to a theme termed 'always a soldier' to show how VPs narrate their approach to their sentence by relying upon the military body and mind they still so readily identify with. Once more the VPs former lives are essential to their approach. Building on from this, the third section titled 'manifestations of war in British prisons' show how the data reveals how war is not only brought home but to the prison. Whilst this is important for this

chapter, it also asks us to consider how governors manage VPs. To conclude this chapter, the final section analyses the data offered by VPs at the end of their interview(s), which asks about their life plans after their sentence. This section is called 'preparing to reintegrate – again!' it aims to highlight the complexities of reintegration for VPs who have already struggled to re-enter civilian life post military service.

Making sense of a new subjectivity

At the outset it is important to note that whilst VPs frequently referred to their military past in order to make sense of themselves they all rejected the veteran label in one way or another. They did this in two ways. Firstly, repeated to the point of monotony was the belief that a veteran was actually someone who had been to war and not on operation. That is to say, in the mind of the offender, there was a marked difference between the conventional wars of the 20th Century, which produced a distinct veteran class, as opposed to the tours of duty for 21st Century operations that unsettled the older logics of battle – especially the ability to defeat an enemy and declare the war officially over. Secondly, for those who accepted the existence of the veteran label, even though they struggled to identify with it, felt it didn't apply post-conviction. While I will return to the political importance of the latter below, it is worth pointing out here that the rejection of the veteran label by VPs in this study points to a self-imposed discounting from veteran's initiatives (technologies). Hence, it is not adequate to affirm an identity; that affirmation needs then to be accepted or not by those whom it embodies (Edkins 2008). For VP 2:

Ha – a veteran? No I am not a veteran, they are the old guys aren't they? I am a number or I was. I am certainly not a veteran though.

As mentioned previously, this eschewing of the veteran label cannot be separated from the way the veterans understood the changing contours of warfare. There was no war in any conventional sense. To go on operations, such as Iraq and Afghanistan in fact meant that they understood that even military subjectivities were prone to change over time, as a direct result of the logics of the battles in which they were part. This was also the belief of VP5:

I am an ex-squaddie, not a veteran. I know that some people call us that but that isn't what we call ourselves. It is for those coming back years ago... We go on tour or ops, veterans went to war if you get me?

According to the VP's of this research then, it was not combat that made them a veteran, but instead they referred to their position (and others who had seen combat) as 'ex-squaddies', 'boot necks' or 'ex-armed forces'. Such evaluations of themselves at the point of conviction actually took its authority from both their past lives and aspirations for the future. Understandings of themselves were endorsed, repeated and resisted both socially and politically (Van Dijk 1985). Expectedly, their reference to themselves was overlaid with many complexities, tensions and frustrations, not least between imposed suggestions that they now assumed a lesser veteran status as a matter of perception, whilst often embracing their exceptional status by refusing to assume the identity of what they considered to be 'normal criminals'. For VPs it was not so much the evaluation of their actions, as Labov teaches, but an evaluation of who they could claim to be now.

Not like other criminals

Whilst VPs often accepted the nature of their crimes and their subsequent punishment within the criminal justice system, they often resisted any notion that their actions could

be viewed in the same way as other offenders that they came into contact with during their sentence. As VP4 emphasises:

Like I am not like the other scum in there like at all, even the screws told me I wasn't, na, not like them at all me. I don't like the word hero but like the screws would tell me and so would everyone that I shouldn't be in there like I had served for my country hadn't I?

More than resisting being perceived like other offenders, VP4 also situates his resistance in a broader context by drawing upon the opinions and perceptions of his governors. Justifying this position in terms of the fact he had served his country in a way that bestowed certain valour or at least demanded some respect, this was enough, he believed, to set him apart from other offenders. VP4 was not alone here, though he certainly encapsulates a recurring theme. VP7 developed this theme, even to the extent that the duty to serve one's country was continued in the prison setting and the protection of other offenders.

You see them in the waiting room when you are coming for your supervision don't you bagheads and scumbags. Never had a job in their life half of 'em. I hate having to sit with them knowing that I have been to Afghan to protect their sorry asses and now I am sat there with them, waiting to be called through like them, like I am no better than them. Ahhh, make me fume. Sorry Miss, it just makes me fume that like.

Participants frequently made categorical distinctions such as those demonstrated by VP4 and VP7. As they continued to make sense of their new position within the prison system,

they did so by distinguishing vividly the difference between what they perceived to ‘real criminals’ and their own criminality. Both quotes highlight a sense of identity that is experienced only with reference to others – lesser others. Indeed, as Stuart Hall (1996) and many others have argued, conflicting identities can only ever be considered with reference to others. The difference with such declarations from veterans in this context is the elevated sense of self which relies upon the memory of a past self. Whilst the establishment of hierarchies (often through violence, actually or threatened) in the criminal population are well known (Smith 1995), this elevation is not based upon the crime committed but a past occupation. Indeed, not only did VPs make those distinctions, they frequently speak of other offenders seeing them as different. VP 3 captures this:

Name and number in Prison... I was a name and number again. I’m not a hero so I didn’t see myself as that but people were like ‘well you have the uniform on and that and you have done 3 years and guarded the Palaces and that’ and I was like ‘ah that’s a piece of piss that’ and they were like ‘ah you shouldn’t be in here should you? You mad head’ and all that (laughter)... well... I shouldn’t even be there basically and that is what they would say... they were saying things like ‘look at us, we are scum and have done bad things like armed robberies and that and look at you in the army.’

Not like other veterans

Whilst VPs expressed an elevated identity within the criminal justice system, this was nevertheless tempered by their acute sense of a lesser military identity as a result of their conviction. For VP2 this lesser identity was a stated truth or official proclamation, which

was served to him with a real sense of indignity and shame, just as his discharge papers were:

I was gutted when I got the papers. Can't describe what it felt like to be dishonourably discharged. I mean that is even worse than being medically discharged isn't it? Fucking shocking man. To be told that after all that, after all the training and the tours that you can't go back to base – you are just a fucking civvy. Well worse than that you are worse than that you are a criminal. I couldn't even look at the lads in court – they came to the trial you see some of them. I couldn't look at them, I'd let them down. They will in Afghan now and I am not there to watch their back. I'm nobody now they probably didn't give me another thought, well not after a while like. They have a job to do and they are good lads and I am not worth thinking about. I let them down.

(VP 2)

In Foucault's (2013: 9) insightful lecture *The Punitive Society*, he emphasises that the process of 'marking' considered in *Discipline and Punish* (1975). As he writes, actual marks are inscribed by punishment upon the body of the criminal. Whilst we have moved beyond the time when inflictions on the body were quite literally part of the punishment regime, for Foucault, the criminal body still exhibits certain markers, albeit in more 'virtual' but no less real ways. That is to say, punitive tactic can also mark the reputation of the body, if not the body itself. The narratives offered by VP 2 asks us to consider such

markings as vital to how veteran offenders make sense of themselves. Foucault (2013: 9) goes on to explain marks as 'something like a trace' or a 'symbolic stain' which amounts to 'shame and infamy' of the character. What is more, as already evidence, while VPs openly resist the marks of criminality, they are not unmarked, but instead assume new bodily markers that relate to the virtual scars upon their military subjectivity. Importantly, as VP5 reminds us, this provides some insight into their understanding of trauma, especially when it is situated alongside earlier claims of 'being somebody':

Yeah, like who am I now? I am nobody now – a fucking nobody. That is a hard pill to swallow that you were somebody and now you are nobody. I was nobody and then somebody and now nobody again. I have thought about going to see the lads like but it's the shame isn't it. I mean we have all got in trouble but you don't want to end kicked out. That's when it has gone too far.

(VP 5)

Once more we can draw upon Foucault's (2013) lecture here to deconstruct the narrative offered above. VP5 speaks directly to a symbolic staining. Just as VPs used the memory of past life to discount themselves of the stigmatic connotations of the criminal, what is important here is how memory proves to be intrinsic to a discounting of their military status. Past memory informs a permanent scarring of the reputation, and as a result, it is impossible to ever forget the subjective consequences of the offense or the imprints of power that affirm the markings on a daily basis (Foucault 2013). VP12 speaks directly to this shame of being a criminal:

To be honest with you luv it's the shame that's the worst of it. When I was inside there were loads of ex-army lads. You could tell them from how they walked and how they kept their cell but not all of them stood up and said I AM EX-FORCES at the top of their voices. Even when the posters went up on the wings asking us to come forward there were lads that wouldn't. Bringing the military into shame aren't you? People don't want to do that so loads of the lads kept that separate from their time in there. It's the shame like you know what I mean?

While differing from Foucault in many ways, Erving Goffman (1963) spoke to the management of spoiled identities by discussing stigma, not merely as a political construction or legal distinction, but as a broader social category that pointed to complex webs of social networks, which produced 'in-group' and 'out-group' possibilities. His thesis was specifically concerned with how people identify with groups, and how this in turn leads to forms of identification and forms of differentiation within the social system. This resonates with veteran offenders who show a marked resistance to being categorised as veteran whilst serving a sentence. To opt out of veterans labels whilst serving a sentence on the one hand is to opt out of initiatives that have emerged to address veteran offending. The implications of this will be considered further in chapter 7. On the other hand this speaks to what Goffman (1963) termed *out-groups* and is further evidence that veteran offenders may not understand themselves in veteran terms post sentence – in fact they may resist it entirely. This points to a sense of the self at odds with understandings of them at the core of veteran offender management and governance. This was a common theme in VPs narratives as they either rejected the term 'veteran' (as

we will also see in chapter seven) or they spoke of others who had resisted any support offered on these terms.

Not like other violence

The violent veteran reinforces the understanding of sites where violence is just and necessary and others where violence is unjust and must be brought to justice (Murray 2014b). The data suggests that VP's struggle to recognise the arbitrary limits of political space and whereas discourse works hard to consider this violence and the violence of war as different – VPs themselves do not embrace that distinction. By resisting veteran distinctions in their narratives, the legal framework becomes a site of blame for their behaviour. For VP1 this was about disregarding the legality of behaviour than it was examining the behaviour itself.

I got a medal for killing people and a jail sentence for throwing a
punch, because I'm dangerous (laughter)

(VP 1)

Whilst of course military personnel know the differences in the law regarding the context of violence, onto the legitimacy of actions, VP1 expresses his frustration with such distinctions to emphasise what he feels are the absurdity of laws. This connects to Lea's (2015) warning not to simply divorce a criminological analysis of war from the legality of war without reference to the marked differences in the violence that occurs (see chapter two, for VP1 a justification was found in doing just that. These sentiments were also articulated by VP8:

Do you know what I had in my cell luv? I had medals, I got them not
long before I got banged up... I got them for killing people. I got

banged up for much less than that. Makes me laugh sometimes and makes me mad others. Here ya go Jonny, have some medals! Thanks for that, now let me show you to your cell. Fucking marvellous (laughter).

The relationship to violence here suggests the need to start to consider the personal value bases of the military man and the uneasy relationships this creates between the legal status of violence and the international vs domestic jurisdictions of law. Instead VPs emphatically underscored their actions with reference to who they were – and explicitly in the context of their status here, why their actions were neither criminal nor veteran. In fact they embraced a paradox that meant they were good criminals or at least undeserving of the criminalisation or bad veterans deserving of stigmatisation.

Always a soldier

VPs comparisons between their military life and their approach to their sentence were quite remarkable. For VPs a criminal sentence could be both survived, and further still, understood through their military training. VPs explained how they understood prison through military metaphors, and how their experiences equipped them for what was ultimately another tour. In a similar way, their testimonies revealed how the architectural design of the prison reminded them of military bases and the forward observation bases (FOB) they had occupied during periods of combat. From the barracks to the prison thus reveals many commonalities that are not often addressed in the criminological literatures.

Retaining a Military Mind-Set

Whilst VPs were acutely aware of their loss of military status and the shame this brought upon them, they were nevertheless keen to stress that they had not lost their military mind-set. For VP5:

You keep your head down, your eyes open and your nose clean. No point making it hard for yourself. Just get on with it. The army teaches you that there ain't no point in feeling sorry for yourself if you have fucked up then you own up and man up for whatever punishment is coming your way. It's mind over matter isn't it really? You can spend all day feeling sorry for yourself and thinking about your Mrs outside and what she is up to and that or you can deal with the day ahead of you. Just like when you are on tour – you just blank it out and concentrate. Make the best of it. Know who you can trust and who you can't. Keep your shit tidy and sleep with one eye open. Next thing you know it is time to go home. Not because you have counted the minutes but because you haven't if you get what I mean? Na, you just got to get on with it.

VP5 emphasises here the similarities between his time imprisoned and times of deployment to combat zones. This was a common theme. For VP 3 the similarity or even familiarity is found in him being physically removed from society and how he drew upon his military experience to 'just get on with it'. VP5 spoke of the learned psychological process that enables military men to block out the outside, and how their physical removal from society during deployment proved useful whilst in prison. He goes further to explain how he conducted himself in similar ways to the conduct of a tour of duty in

keeping himself safe and assessing people who may be a danger. Such sentiments were also echoed by VP1, 5, 6, 9, and 13, who all spoke to how they drew upon military skills as a way to cope in the prison regime. VP 9 also spoke to the emotional experiences of deployment, and how this by made his custodial sentence seem trivial:

Even on your darkest day in there you just think to yourself or you don't even have to think it you know that nothing is worse than holding your mates hand as the life drains out of his eyes. Telling him that he will be OK and knowing he won't be. Nothing is that hard.

These comparisons were not only made apparent when VPs discussed prison. They were also something that resonated with those serving a community sentence. For example for VP 2:

You learn what to tell these lot (laughter). They asked you how you are feeling and you say "sound". Just like when you can't even have a roast dinner because the meat smells like war flesh I mean burning flesh – surprising that isn't it – has anyone ever told you that – what it is like to smell a body cooking. But when people say; how's it going?' you just say sound Royal, You? (Laughter) just like when these ask me. You just say I'm sound yeah, you?

A window into the nature of combat conditions is being opened here that reminds us that veterans have many complex relationships with violence, from perpetrators, onto the witnessing of violence and in many ways becoming victims of violence. Once more we are brought back to the work of McGarry *et al* (2012) and the unique nature of soldering. As VP2 draws upon his military mind-set, he takes us beyond questions of conduct or

emotional awareness towards those skills that allows him to resist the framework and technologies that are at play upon him in the punishment and rehabilitation process. Just as he learned to conceal traumatic memory, so he was also able to conceal or at least manipulate the information he gave to probation officers. This was echoed throughout the data with VP 4 disclosing he had never told the probation officer the truth.

Tell them fuck all, I know all about interrogation – had to question people in Afghan trying to find information out about them. I hear it in the questions they ask and know why they are asking – never just for the niceness of it (laughter) na I tell him fuck all – don't trust him. We are going to sit here one a week for the next two year and I will just say yes, no, yes, no, yes, yes, no, no (laughter). Got to be one step ahead of the bastards at all times (laughter).

Whilst this admission might also raise some doubts regarding the veracity of the truth of the testimonies I obtained, the fact he makes a point of introducing me to the military training teaches vigilance and an awareness of the social landscape is powerful and instructive. His explanation was also complimented by VP3's narrative above which he speaks of 'sleeping with one eye open'. What is more, for VP2, even his participation in the research was something to be approached by drawing upon military experience – not least his appearance as upon entering the probation office that day he appeared with his old kit boots and combats, while wearing a t-shirt that said 'you don't want to see me angry' on the front. As my research diary notes:

Well today I met a character! Scary really – he entered the room and explained that he was going to check the room first if that was OK

with me. Not being entirely sure what he meant by that I watched as he knocked on the walls around him and me. He then explained that he would be sitting near the door not me. I started to be very aware of his clothing... military boots, combats and a t-shirt that read 'you do not want to see me angry'. He was a huge man and checked around the panic button and winked at me. I wasn't sure whether to find this amusing or menacing but relied upon humour and the interview began. During the interview I must have glanced at the panic button (it was a conscious thing) but he stopped his story and said 'No point looking at the button sweetheart I am much quicker than you' he laughed and carried on with his story. I was certainly as much of an enemy to him as any of the people he described in that room.

(Research Diary 08/07/ 2011)

This offender saw the interview as an interrogation. It was a space and a possible risk and I was someone to be approached with suspicion and alertness. His response as taught in training was to take control of the situation; from where he sat, onto how he presented himself and how he positioned me in that process. Hence, although he was no longer in excess of the juridical order, he still reasoned with that position while perceiving everything around him as a battle of sorts. As a researcher, I was also an "outsider" - hence something to be kept at a distance to the point of letting me know the marked differences between civil and military capabilities in respect to violence. This however was contradicted, for at the same time, he was adamant that he embodied a positive role in society - or at least his previous acts of valour should be appreciated as such. Alongside

this, comparisons continued to be drawn as VPs discussed their experience of the violence in the prison setting.

Just another battle

Each of the participants talked about their experiences of violence in prison as something to be compared to war. Every encounter was in fact just another battle for them. Whilst this was recurring theme, VP5 articulates this position clearly with frequent references to Afghanistan:

It's worse than Afghan (laughter). In there I mean. So it's just like that constantly every day, fighting with who is on the pool table next and fighting with who has the fags and if you won't give someone some sugar or somert like that it's like they will throw a punch at you... you wouldn't believe some of it. Like the screws just leave you to it, you have to find an empty pad and fight where they can't see it and if they come and ask you afterwards you just say nothing had happened like. This scouse lad that I was fighting with over the job I got and he strangled me and that and I proper done him in then when I got away and the screw said look I can't be arsed with the paperwork so I got off with that too (laughter)... He was ex-forces (the prison officer) so that was a bonus but most of the time you take the fight were no one can see it. There is always an empty pad. Like people carry knives and that and sharpen tools, I've got scars all over me from in there – little memories of it. They'll sharpen anything up or hit you over the head with a snooker ball in a sock or somert like that. Not a mark on me

from Afghan (laughter) but covered in them from there – look (VP lifted top to show scars across his body).

Although the intimate nature of violence described by VP5 is profoundly different from the night patrol he describes on his tour of duty to Afghanistan the year before, it is clear that he has come to understand all conflict in terms of war or at least that all violence should be compared to battlefield operations. Suggestions were also made of an alliance with prison guards who are also ex-military and are developed further below. Once more, what is important here is how we see VPs overcoming normative procedures of governance as he is not charged for this violence. Further comparisons were drawn by VP 7:

Like Prison and afghan are not that different but like once you settle into prison you just get on with it like but Afghan is just constantly scary, every day you are scared you are just always on guard and on your toes. Afghan probably prepared me for jail, well army life did, like I was used to being with loads of lads and that and always fighting with them and that. Just like the way prison is was a bit like being in afghan, like you had a FOB and that which was your wing. Like your wing and in Afghan we were getting on each other's nerves and that with the adrenaline and the heat and hunger and that so we would fight with each other and that quite a bit and fights would be organised sometimes when we had down time, keep us revved up and that... like sometimes we could be fighting with each other and then come under fire so we would have to pick up our guns and fight with the Taliban then and protect each other and sometimes

afterwards we would shake hands and other times we would continue the fight once we were done with the other bastards (laughter) just fight, fight fight, really. So it's just like a similar life, like Afghan is just like a FOB really that you know where to keep a look out and there's loads of lads and you are just pissing each other off and stepping on each other's toes all the time in crap conditions, hungry and counting days to get home... Better weather in Afghan though! (Laughter).

While VP7 gives real insight here into a fear of both prison and war, violence is nevertheless presented as natural to his way of life. For VP7, deployment prepared him for prison, although we don't not get any sense from his narrative that familiarity was comforting. What is more, VP7 offers a reflection on his relationship with his comrades that falls outside of what we expect to hear. The notion that fights can be arranged to keep you 'revved up' is seldom discussed. In fact, once more, if we look at *The Military Doctrine: Operations* - chapter 2 'fighting power' explains that one should 'strike only when success is assured' (2A-6). This would suggest something altogether more planned, controlled and considered than the violence described by VPs. The document explains the intellectual fortitude needed for war. Although all participants went through this training, never was it mentioned in our discussions. A final reflection here is to draw on the design of the wing as something appeared like a FOB (Forward Observation Base). This was also a recurrent theme as participants made sense of the similarity in the design of the FOB and the wing (VP2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14). It was striking that so many were concerned with the similarity and not differences within these security architectures. There was however

one evident difference that manifest itself in their behaviours. In this setting, they are being watched instead of keeping watch. As my research diary notes:

I returned to X23 today and it presented very different set of challenges from last time. I was prepared for the walls and the claustrophobia - even the noises weren't as harrowing. I felt more prepared for the searches and was amused as female prison officers talked about me as if I wasn't there while men passed comments such as 'you are in safe hands sweetie' as they pointed to their baton. Last time I had been very uncomfortable by it but I had expected worse as I prepared for this visit. As I walked through security my legs were firm and I felt a sense of achievement for just getting that far without feeling overwhelmed. I expected to be led to an interview room as arranged and to have a prison guard outside a glass room while the interview took place but it quickly became apparent that this wouldn't be the case - both VP's were on the same wing and the VICSO informed me that I could interview them on the landings during association in half an hour's time. What? This wasn't the plan - was it safe? I felt torn between what I knew was right and the data. I also felt embarrassed that I didn't know what to do. I mustn't have answered him as he repeated 'do you want to go onto the landings during association - I mean when they are out of their cells?' I knew what association was. I was also taken back his 'they' reference as if animals were being let out of their cage. I replied 'yes OK - are we not able to interview in the suite?' He replied that this was 'easier'.

Of course, the excerpt speaks to my safety and the complications that my gender created. It also however provides a context of an environment markedly different from participant's reactions to their situation. This was far from a place of safety in my mind at the time. My diary from that day continued:

As the metal gate opened a female officer shouted over 'I hope you know what you are doing Jimmy' and 80 category A men appeared from behind cell doors. They quite rightly stopped to work out their visitor - I immediately became aware of my posture and how I had to look professional. I also wanted to put them at ease – I was in their house after all and so smiled in their direction and gestured a hello. I looked to my side and the officer had taken out his baton and bellowed 'touch her and you get it'. I felt awful, guilty almost, I was in their home but they had to move out of the way. They were moving out of my way as I walked across, I had never felt that power before and I didn't like it, whilst all the time remembering the power they had over me and the power of the officer. The female voice shouted again 'what are you doing with her? That is a dangerous game you are playing get her out of there and stop showing off!' the officer laughed and said 'she is fine', I asked what exactly I was supposed to be doing on here anyway and pointed out that interviews couldn't happen in this way. He called two young men over and we sat in the nearest cell – it became clear they didn't know what I was there as the VICSO said 'tell this young lady about the war – do not touch her!' and they replied 'anything Miss anything at all Miss'. They were

visibly uncomfortable and anxious and I worked to explain that this was a chance for them to speak about their experiences in their own words and there were not obliged to do so.

(Research Diary 13/12/2011)

This was my first real encounter with what Foucault (1979) referred to as the ‘spectacle of punishment’. A visual arrangement of power that speaks more to the older forms of sovereign power that Foucault (1979) discusses towards the start of *Discipline and Punish*. The powerlessness of the inmates as their self-contained world becomes something to be viewed and changed. The gaze here too was not simply uni-directional from the guard to the inmates, but was ubiquitous – circulating within a network between all parties (Scott 2010). This was an example of disciplinary power engaging hierarchal surveillance and the judgment of normality insofar as it was considered normal for those inmates to conform by stepping “out of my path”. In doing so, they had internalised the gaze in a way that was open to examination. Whilst at the time I thought these behaviours could become one of the central focuses of the thesis, as the research developed I discovered an unexpected tension to this finding. As I was told:

You see this place is similar to the FOB in Afghan – do you know what I mean? I mean they (gesturing towards the prison officers) stand on watch. Just watching for anything to look dodgy. You see I understand all that stuff and so they like me the screws because I understand and can usually calm things down like they see me as one of them sometimes – tell me I am a model prisoner (laughter) fucking madness that isn’t it that – wrote that down your heroes are made for

your jails (laughter). Anyway like I understand it and spend time on the induction wing too for lads who haven't seen any of this before it can be a bit scary so I go and explain to them that there are only walls like.

(VP6)

For VP6, the 'gaze' as such was not a problem to be resisted, in fact, not only was he acutely aware of regulation; it was something which provided certain comfort to him. In reality an onlooker may find this comparison odd, as people are in control of a FOB and are able to walk out at any time, whereas the wing is in complete contrast. Nevertheless it was clear from my interactions that participants make sense of the design of the prison as something that made sense to their survival instincts. He actually expresses an ambition and success to be one of the officers – almost as if he had internalised the dichotomies of good/bad and strived to cross back in order to be understood in good terms. There were however instances when participants found the prison estate to be vastly different in culture:

I made it look like I wasn't scared, everyone said to me "bloody hell you've spent 6 months in a war zone, 6 weeks in prison should be a walk in the park!" but it's different, you're not with mates, you're with bloody, fucking god knows, every Tom, Dick and Harry in the prison but in military prison it was different because everyone's a soldier, everyone is the same, in fucking civilian prison you're not you've got people coming from different cultures, different places, doing different crimes, different backgrounds, people clash.

Here we are reminded how VPs set themselves apart from other criminals as the quote affirms their belief that no matter what the crime that veterans are all the same. As in society, the veteran in prison believed they were different to the point that what they had done should be judged by whom they were. This theme is also apparent in interviews with CJPs that are explored in the next chapter.

Reversing virtual marks

Foucault's (2013) understood that all markers have the ability to be reversed or at least attempted through various strategies (discursive or otherwise) of negotiation and resistance. It is interesting to note that without being prompted, five of the participants decided to bring pictures of their military days along during the second interview. Just as we saw in chapter 4, participants treasured these photographs and the memories they embodied. When narrating the story of their lives these images became a talking point and central focus.

I brought these pictures with me to show you what it was like. Sometimes that is easier – they say a pictures says a thousand words (laughter). No I mean I was thinking of ways to explain it to you, I mean how best to show a civvy and a bird (laughter) No offence, you're sound but anyway... This one (showing the assault course used in basic training) this is me, that me on top there I was one of the fastest that day. They were dropping like flies but I didn't think it was that bad. Ha, look at the fresh made up face. And this one (showing a picture of his passing out) is me passing out – just got the Green Beret! (VP 1)

By bringing these photographs to the second interview, VP1 took control of the focus of the discussion and was clear about what was important to him. Whilst the second interview provided a space for me to encourage VPs to revisit stories and to gain clarification, it was also a space for VPs to reemphasise parts of their story after a short period of reflection. Here it was clear that to VP's the image that felt important to present illustrated their military pasts. As the discussions developed, images talked to their times before deployment, onto the images that reaffirmed a sense of belonging and camaraderie once deployed:

Here look at these (pictures of down time in Afghanistan)! I know you have seen a squaddie before (laughter) but this is our section we were on fire that year lost the least casualties of any of any out there and Afghan was a dark place that summer, I thought we were fucked at one point like – you can't reason with an IED can you (laughter). Anyway this was where we worked out (showing a man doing pull ups on a bar), see that can there well just fill it with water and you have a weight! And look here (showing tent area) that is where you sleep there and look at this (showing picture of a net with a hole in) that is to keep the flies and that like a moszzy net - but the hole is where shrapnel flew off – close that wasn't it (laughter) and that (showing picture of a man) that is my boss, was my boss, you know what I mean - called DJ. (VP 5)

Both the above quotes can be interpreted as a means bringing the focus of the interview back to a time when the participants were proud – a means of reversing the symbolic stains of the sentence. Once more, this is a virtual marking and places the imagery of the

proud military man at the centre of the investigation about criminality post deployment. There are however differences in the tone that the pictures and description offer. For VP1 we get the sense of how the pictures show pictures of a proud time – one of winning. There is little sense of struggle in this part of the interview, and it is clear that this is how he would like to be understood. He also explains that my civilian and a female status means that I may find the content of his narrative difficult to understand, which subtly separates these proud images from both woman and society. For VP5, in contrast, the pictures illustrate the loss of war and suggest two striking images of the body. The first is the image of a muscly young man who continuing to work out in a combat zone points to an authenticated self that is the embodiment of a military ideal type. The second complicates this as the reality of shrapnel burning through his netting and the statement that ‘you can’t reason with an IED’ metaphorically speaks to the vulnerability of the body and its more precarious reality. This theme continued as VP 7 spoke about injured bodies.

You can have a laugh in there but you were in with lifers too and people slashing their wrists and that or hanging themselves so you see messed up bodies in there too like, just like in Afghan, People dying and blood and that... they make weapons there you see, they will sharpen anything and kill you for not sharing chips, it’s that mad, they have as little respect for life and the Taliban some of them cunts in there (laughter). I just kept busy in gym, went whenever I could.

Manifestations of the war in British prisons

Having argued that the violence of the veteran might be seen as an extension of war or can certainly be theorised as such both in terms of academic debates and the voices of veterans, this section extends this to now consider how violence continues in prison in

the name of the war. This is not dissimilar to how VPs explained how they defended and extended the war post-deployment (See chapter 5). While comparisons between military life and prison life continue to be made by offenders, just like in theatres of war, there are times when being a British veteran meant that you were part of a stronger 'side', and times when that made you altogether more vulnerable and a specific target for violent assaults.

Veteran testimonies continued to disrupt linear understandings of territoriality that often suggest how different spatial sites reveal their own distinct logics. In many respects the way veterans navigate territorially is informed by a continuation of their military mind-set. This continuum speaks not only to how they perceived the prison environment. It also explains how they actively set about 'taking over' that space. Again VP2 is clear in his comparisons between his military experience and his experience of his sentence:

I got landed onto the induction wing at Prison and erm people recognised me and I knew people and looked after me and that straight away and helped out with the stuff you need like shower gels and clothes and stuff and that stuff that you need in there - and because I'd served in the forces I got a good job straight away because the screw on our wing was ex-forces too so he sorted me a good job and that like - but that caused fights in itself with lads that were waiting for jobs. Like being ex-army in there helps you out, people look up to it and that. So even though I wasn't a soldier and that anymore they respected you for having served for your country so it was sound. So a few of the officers were ex-army so they read your

records and that and they were being sound with me like, so were asking me what I was in for and that and I did all my education in there too, I did 3 IT courses and maths and English a-levels in there and then I did a cleaner job and then I got a food job which is the best job on the wing because you get loads of food and that and you can go to the gym all the time so I just worked in there and got bigger in the gym and that, so was trying to put on weight, a few of my mates were coming in so I was getting the screws to ring over and get them on my wing so after a few months it was just a wing full of my mates well squaddies like and that so it was sound then like we had an OK time in there – ran the place (laughter).

In a similar vein, VP 12 offers a sense of the prison setting that was equally keen to relate it to his experience:

Nobody messes with you really in these parts once they know you are ex-forces they just think – he can handle himself. A few will have a pop at the start and you have to show them your worth and that and just bang ‘em – then others see that and word gets round. There isn’t the mither you would get in other parts like (x), hardly any Muslims here and when they do show their face they know who is running the show. They are in England now! (Laughter)

This is not however a uniform story. As in different combat zones, the experience of VP’s was more complicated and in some instances, the veteran offender status made them far more vulnerable. VP 17 was one of the last interviews I conducted; yet it had one of the

biggest impacts on me in terms of disrupting my own image of the soldier as masculine, violent and yet confident. He was too young for adult prison but had a diagnosis of PTSD as a result of time in Afghanistan. Although a lengthy extract I feel it is necessary to quote in detail:

I was in Prison (young offenders institution), fucking hell, it was a shit hole, I was going to get stabbed up the last week I was in there by a bunch of Muslims. I ended up having a fight in there, I told them when I went in, when I got admitted they said to me, even the staff said to me “you’d be better off next door with the older lot, you’re coming into a young offenders here, full of immature twats” I said to them “look, don’t pad me up with a Muslim, don’t pad me up with anybody from Afghan because it just isn’t going to work... just look where I’ve just come from and what I’m in here for” so what do they go and do? Pad me up with a Afghan lad called Isqu, his family had been killed by the Taliban but he supported the Taliban and I was like “what the fuck?” So anyway, erm...I was in an English lesson, there was 3 English lads in there, 3 Muslim lads, a lad called Mamood, a lad called Arif and I can’t remember the other lad’s name and this Mamood lad going to me “every time a British soldier died he throws a party and all that” and I just seen red and I was like I’m not having this I said “every Taliban I shot I pissed in their mouth after if they had a head left” and I started going mental, launched across the table at him, started going mental at him, you know what I mean, I had my mate dying in my arms it isn’t nice, I was like “if you don’t fucking like

what this country does what you doing in the country?” and that got split up and I got dragged back to the cells

Once more, this narrative doesn't sit easy within the criminal justice framework. The presence of war was felt not only by him, but also for the other young man involved who was equally a new political category to be governed. What's more, while VP17 spoke of asking to kept separate – an internal instinct perhaps or maybe his own prejudices at play – what this also points to in extension of the war paradigm and the collapse of the outside and inside dichotomy – such that we now have an “outside within the inside”. He continued:

...went in front of the governor and she went to Mamood “you're being sent down the block, you're getting a nicking, a 12 day nicking, no TV, no social” he went out and she said to me “right you're free to go, you were more in your right to do what you did, I would've done the same” so I was like buzzing, get in like. This was on my last week this was, I knew I was getting out on the 11th and one of the, Mr X, his name was, good bloke he was, one of the staff, I was talking to him on social one day and his son was out in Afghan on the same tour as me, just in a different part. He came into my cell and he said the word is on the wing that you're going to get done over this week by the Muslims, they're not happy about what happened in the lesson, you being in the Army and what not. He said right this is the situation, you can come out on socials as normal and interact as normal or you can come out after they've been banged up and you can have a game of pool and that with the staff.

Evidently the prison staffs here show sympathy with the veteran community. The participants even go as far to suggest that the governor supported his violent outburst. Some violence it seems was OK in this environment. Which of course is depended upon who the victim is as an ethical and religious category that is loaded with political symbolism. Such is the logic of war. He then explained however that protection was precarious:

... I was like “fuck it, I’ll go out on social’s as normal, don’t want to lose face, when you go out on social you have to have a shower, that’s the only time you can have a shower and err Mr Morgan put me in the shower and locked it. The alarm went off, just the fight alarm, what the Muslim’s had done was kick off a bit of a scuffle in the pool room so all the staff went in there and they all tried booting the shower door down to get to me... they had blades and said they were going to slash my face. I was thinking “oh shit if they get through this door, I’m fucked!” there was 9 or 10 of them but then the fight got broke up and they all dispersed. When the staff started coming back through and they clocked all this on camera and they come in and he said “right, we’re not going to let you come out on social anymore, you can come out with us after” I was alright, I wasn’t fussed, I only had fucking 5 or 6 days and I’m out of here so I ended up doing that for my protection. (VP 17)

Although VP17 was at first protected from the regimes of discipline that operated in the prison, the on-going political tensions and battles meant that this isolated events didn't point to an end t animosities. On the contrary, as he narrates his fear from the shower,

VP17 is once more self-aware of his own inherent vulnerability within this particular politically charged setting. Whilst the data obtained from CJP's is the focus of the next chapter, it is important to offer this reflection here as it adds more substantive weight of these claims:

Yes it is now know that in areas where the outside community is defined by multicultural groups that veterans will be moved to vulnerable wings for their own protection from Muslim groups. I don't like it but that is what is happening – we see attacks on ex-forces more since the Drummer Rigby case and as a result the lads no longer want to disclose their military status. Some can't hide it though cause of military tattoos and the likes. I am not sure what is next but some institution hope to manage it with veteran wings that are not labelled as vulnerable but are separated from known extremists (CJP 1: Gatekeeper).

This data thus points to yet another tension in how the identity of the violent veteran is experienced, and why there is a need to situate them in a broader political context. As this group moves from running the wings in prison to becoming more vulnerable on account of their veteran status, new questions need to be asked about the very locations in which the battles of the 21st Century are being fought, and how violent veteran offenders who have been officially discharged from the military both actively try to maintain and military identity, whilst constitute to have the markers of that identity imposed upon them by governors and other inmates alike – whether to side up to declare open hostility.

Preparing to reintegrate again

Many of the VPs hoped that being seen as a violent veteran may not be a permanent state and that there was a life beyond sentencing. Whether they had been sentenced to a prison sentence, a community sentence or both, they looked forward to the process of reintegration. This was of course not the first time these men had been faced with the task of reintegrating back into civilian society. Nor does it gloss over the fact that reintegration for all the participants (from the military) had been a difficult process for them. In fact, many VPs spoke of the impossible desire to re-join the military as the ideal model for reintegration. For VP 4 the military was the site that could best rehabilitate him:

Like I would do anything to go back in like you know I even asked my old Staffie (Staff Sergeant) if he could sort something out for now as I have learned my lesson. They have loads of stuff in place to sort me out here but nothing like the stuff that would really sort me if I was allowed to go back in.

Whilst VP10 echoed similar wishes to re-join the military he also spoke to his skills and what he was good at (a notable focus in desistance literatures) and that was at being a soldier:

See they won't let me back in and it's the magistrates fault isn't it really like he knew that if he gave me 9 month I was fucked and he did anyway. To be fair he had seen me just 10 days before like and let me off and sent me back but when he saw me again he said he had no choice. After two years I think I can try again with the tests and that but I doubt it – don't know what you got til its gone innit really. Had

it all there. I was good at it too you know so I think it is their loss too really to be fair and honest. I'd get the job done for them if they would let me.

Once more blame is attributed to external factors, here both the juridical system and the military are preventing him from "getting the job done". Yet, VP 10 is clear that he will approach the military again in two years in the hope that they will reconsider his discharge. The issue of discharge is a real issue for veterans as they make sense of their new identity and for those veterans who did not leave the forces on their own accord as the marks of criminalisation are inscribed with their discharge in criminal circumstances. VP 14 explains:

See it did my head in to be honest with you DD'd (dishonourable discharge) is your worst nightmare and I got that as I got prison so it was like a double whammy you know it was fucking bad like and I asked Staff Sergeant to see what he could do he always liked me but even though he said he would I knew by his eyes that was end for me. Never going back in. Gutted to be honest but that the way it goes when you fuck up so badly you don't deserve it I suppose. I hope my son joins one day. (VP 14).

Once more this participant was keen to express his desire to go back into the forces and he made this known to his command. The hope that future generations of VPs families can right the wrongs they committed was also a common theme. Here VP 14 expresses wish to serve one day but is clear that whilst he does not think he deserves that honour he hopes his son will join one day.

From one institution to another

One of the more striking aspects of the research was how VPs expressed a fear of 'Civvy Street' and at times openly declared that they found the prison environment more favourable. Furthermore, eleven of the eighteen VPs had been in care as a child and had joined the military at the earliest possible opportunity. Three of the remaining VPs had spent the majority of their school life in exclusion units. When analysing the narratives of these men, it apparent how institutionalisation shaped the largest proportion of their life. Memories of the civilian world in fact had been extremely difficult for them. As VP1 explained:

Well I would spend time with my Nan on and off to try to stop social services taking me but it was inevitable really and then they did I was about seven – yeah I think I was seven anyway, try not to think about it (laughter). I was born a walking prison sentence. I always knew I would go to prison at some point. Well I suppose hoped not after joining like but deep down I was screwed from birth (laughter).

VP6 offered a similar testimony history where institutionalisation begins from a very young age:

I was adopted when I was about 4 so I was in foster care from birth really up to about 4 when I got adopted so I went to a lot of different families, a lot of different places, I think I was on my way to a children's home before I got adopted, then I was adopted by my mum and dad but that didn't really work out.

Stability here is only ever apparent once in the care of the state. These sentiments were echoed throughout many the narratives, as most were in care of some sort as children. Institutions as such were not the problem from the perspective of providing stability in their lives. Instead it was the fear of the 'outside' that shaped their attitudes and perceptions. As VP12 recalls:

Prison was the easy bit, it is out here that is hard. In there you get three square meals a day and told when its lights out. Left alone you are. Out here it is all 'how are you feeling?' and bills. I have never had to worry about bills. Hard work aren't they – can't make head nor tail of half of the letters me. I would take a year in prison any day over this probation stretch now with all the cups of teas and how are your feelings. Not the way my mind works at all. I much prefer to be told when it's lights out. Like you wake up when you are in, in the army and you they tell you what you are doing that day. Same in prison you know what's ahead of you like. Out here is different – what the fuck do civvys do all day – ah that's right they work but who will give me a job? It is like 'coming to a park bench near you' (laughter) fucked then! The thing is you kind of know when you leave that your qualifications won't mean shit and most of end up on the streets. Well not most of like but we all laugh about it and say – nope not leaving yet not ready for the park just yet. It's weird like it's only a joke but somewhere in your mind you know it might not be funny one day.

The fact that VP12 here reflects upon the possibility of homelessness (as if prison gives a home) is powerful. It is a far cry from the process of joining the military and the prospects

that holds, as we encounter here possibilities that are far removed from a sentiment that joining the military was a means to be somebody. Such narratives could lead us to believe that participants almost craved the 'docility' that the prison system offered – (as CJP's voiced – see chapter seven). However, perhaps a more critical stance is required. As Foucault (1977:136) writes, 'a body is docile that can be subjected, used, transferred and improved'. What then does docility look like when it is craved for, understood and reversed? VPs are all too aware of the processes that occurring around them – or so they propose. In fact the *disciplinary power* was not a punishment but a necessity and institutional longing. The closed environment provided a system of structure, order and rule they had come to rely upon and accept as being normal and beneficial.

Being Cut Loose

Resettlement and the subsequent period on probation places new demands upon the veteran offender. as Shadd Maruna (2011) explained when discussing resettlement from prison in general, although providing accommodation and employment, for example, were important, resettlement was something of an expressive and symbolic process that also created a new identity . The subjectivity of the veteran offender was therefore reworked once more upon release. For VP 11 leaving the prison was not what he expected:

Leaving prison is just like leaving the core I suppose they cut you loose.

I remember driving away from the base and thinking fuck is that it?

Same with prison like well not the same but you get me? Like you leave prison and that's it after all the fuss on the way in they just cut you loose too.

It is possible to draw upon the arguments of Maruna (2011: 3) here on prisoner reintegration to make sense of this process of being cut loose and how the transition from soldier to civilian to criminal to civilian disrupts the familiarities of certain 'rituals' associated with order and rule. Unlike basic training for example, leaving the military is not a procedure symbolised by 'well-orchestrated' and 'familiar ritual' but instead is 'a delicate transition fraught with danger and possibility'. Similarly, VP 11 refers to the 'fuss' of being imprisoned as being strikingly different to the process of leaving that institution. For VP4:

I remember looking back at the walls and thinking they looked bigger
from other side. But then Bastion looks smaller when you are leaving
(laughter).

Once more the prison is 'looked back' upon and made sense of with reference to Afghanistan. As VP4 had left Camp Bastion he has thought that it looked smaller than when he first saw and experienced its vast structure. The prison, he said, had also shrunk as he was consumed by its architectures and the life it creates. Mary Douglas (2002: 80) suggests that 'there are some things we cannot experience without ritual'. In British society and indeed throughout the western world we are well informed about the militarisation of the civilian – we make a striking 'ritual' of it through uniforms and proud parades such as those explored in chapter 5. However, the reintegration process post service points to a much more personal and all too often an isolated and uncertain event – or what I have termed elsewhere a "non-event" as it is bereft of any military symbolism (Murray 2014a). As VP 15 explains:

Well there was no welcome home parade this time (laughter) it's a bit like leaving the forces I suppose. You count down the days for this other life and as you walk towards it you think fuck what now?

In light of this, John Braithwaite's (1989) comments on moral inclusion appear apt. As he argues, reintegrate requires dealing with its cultural features such that previous ideas of attachment are not forgotten. Narratives offered by VPs support this as they show how the trauma of leaving the military or prison for ex-military personnel often points to a lack of symbolism and meaning in terms of no longer belonging to something they once held dear. It is to be quite literally "cut loose" in the most unsettling and daunting of ways. Further to this, as John Brathwaite argued along with Steven Mugford (1994), reintegration requires a process where the offender can once again undergo a *status elevation*. For veterans who have been dishonourably discharged, however, this is particularly difficult as civilian life already resonates as a lesser identity; hence the elevation isn't felt in the same way.

Conclusion

This chapter has extended the analysis of violent veterans by addressing them as a political category that takes serious their voices in terms of their experiences of the criminal justice system post-sentencing. It has emphasised why it is important to examine how participants articulate and renegotiate their military status during a criminal sentence as a way to highlight the complexities of social relations within the prison system, especially how they continue to have an on-going relationship to violence in various ways. What has been presented here hasn't tried to make sense of the aetiology of veterans' violence; rather it paid attention to how veterans perceive their criminality onto addressing the broader political and criminological significance of these findings.

What has appeared here is a picture of the veteran offender that sets them apart, all the while questions of violence, discipline, blame and the body appear as recurrent themes.

This chapter has demonstrated how VPs set themselves apart from other criminals before differentiating themselves from other veterans. By negotiating disciplinary environments with an expressed ease and on some level, VPs find comfort in both its architecture and the rules and structure it provides. Military training proves useful here as the participants draw upon military training and their experience in order to make sense of their new conditions and narrate their stories. This is most evident in the ways they consider and imagine themselves in that process, but also in how they react to the sufferings of life in prison; for example their continued exposure to violence and conflicts that are often politically charged. Whether they like it or not; the violent veteran is always marked with virtual inscriptions that continue to set them apart within the complex political, legal, and social relations of the criminal justice system. In many ways it defines their sentencing. Building on from this, the following chapter will now turn to the testimonies of those charged with the governance of veterans and criminal justice. It is important that the beliefs of those being governed are remembered as we explore the challenges inherent in those policies that try to rehabilitate the veteran offender.

Governing the Violent Veteran

Introduction

Having explored the key themes that emerged from interviews with VPs in chapters five and six, this chapter now moves onto to the data collected from interviews with CJP's and my own observations working alongside them. In chapter three it was explained that if veteran offenders are to be governed there must be governors to enact the techniques and policies that emerge as a result. It was explained that as part of the field work I have been able to watch at close quarters as the VSO initiative grew and mirrored the more established VICS programmes. Both were interventions or what Foucault (1977) termed 'technologies' for rule. With no national policy for veterans, the multiple ways in which veteran offenders are governed are a product of the individual criminal justice practitioner and charities the veteran comes into contact with. While this means that in some parts of the country no intervention would be tailored to veteran's needs, for those involved in this project, however, it was their veteran status that proved central to the techniques imposed upon them. This chapter thus addresses the first research aim for this thesis:

1. To interrogate the power relationships that impact upon the lives of veteran offenders by placing the violent veteran's narrative into the developing literature in the criminology of war. In doing so, offer a critical analysis of what the violence

of the veteran reveals about the political category they assume post-conviction and what that exposure means for understandings of war and governance.

By interrogating the data collected from CJPs, along with reflecting upon my own observations and experiences of working alongside CJPs in training events that shaped initiatives for veteran offenders, this chapter speaks directly to three of my research questions with references to CJP experiences (see chapter one):

1. How is the violent veteran framed as a distinct category for legal forms of governance? (In this chapter this is not about the discourse that has constructed the veteran but how CJPs that took part in this study interpret it. How CJPs themselves have an authority on who becomes a subject of veteran offender technologies).
2. What are the limitations of this legally framed approach? (For my purposes here this is about how CJPs understandings of their subject problematises the technologies they have developed or have been instructed to operationalise).
3. How is the violent veteran understood by those charged with their rehabilitation? (Again, in this chapter this question addresses CJPs feelings and judgements. What is important is that their declarations speak directly to personal aims/teleologies).

During the interviews and through my observations CJPs were encouraged to explain the intentions and motivations that underpinned their work with veterans. This included how they perceived veterans subjectivities in the criminal justice system. It was also important to get a sense of what CJPs believed their organisation and their work with veterans hoped to achieve and if there were a clear rehabilitation goals (see chapter four).

Whilst questions were designed to focus my engagement with CJPs on the lived experience of technologies for rule (see chapter one, three and four) further complexities were realised. At the outset, the fact that all CJPs for this project were part of the “veteran family” (see below) meant they also relied upon a military subjectivity in and through their work.

From the outset it was clear that the CJPs were less concerned with my analytical framework, than expressing matter-of-fact reflections on the practicalities of the task they were instructed to perform in the governance of veteran offenders. This chapter begins by providing a brief overview of the VSO project introduced in chapter one and then moves on to attend to three key themes. The first theme I have called ‘making sense of a new subjectivity: a criminal justice practitioner perspective’ draws out the complexities of how VPs assume a professional status and importantly who is discounted. This theme also considers what the veteran offender means when placed into criminal justice frameworks. The second theme is concerned with ‘Technologies in practice: working with veteran offenders’ and attends to the technologies of rule for the perspectives of CJPs and explores the knowledge that they rely upon. And finally, this chapter considered the aims of CJPs and the justifications and assumptions that guide their practice. Titled ‘towards a veteran’s justice system’ this section deals with the future prospects of veteran offenders as seen by those working within the criminal justice system.

The VSO initiative: An apparatus

The CJPs that took part in the study were all part of the delivery of services for veterans’ punishment and rehabilitation. During the project 16 CJPs offered their experiences of working with veterans. All CJPs were asked to comment on their professional role as a

Veteran Support Officer (VSO) working in Cheshire Probation Trust as part of that initiative. The data was collected between 2011 and 2014, during which as noted in chapter three the VSO project was awarded the Butler Trust Prize for work with veterans. The data collected was obtained from those who were considered within the system to be delivering “best practice” in the governance of veteran offenders. The VSO initiative proposed to focus directly on the rehabilitation of veteran offenders as a specific group whilst administering the punishment passed down by the court (VSO meeting 2011 – field notes). I consider this initiative to be a meaningful example of what was earlier described as an “apparatus of security” which shapes a governmental frame, as it speaks to all of the elements that Foucault (1977 interview) proposed were important (see chapter one). In the interests of clarity it is necessary to remind us of this again here. For Foucault, the security apparatus was:

... first and foremost, a thoroughly heterogeneous set consisting of *discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral, and philanthropic propositions...* by the term “apparatus” I mean a kind of a formation, so to speak, that at any given historical moment has as *its major function the response to an urgency...* The apparatus is thus always inscribed into a play of power, but it is also always linked to certain *limits of knowledge* that arise from it and, to an equal degree, *condition it* (my emphasis).

The VSO initiative appears to fit the criteria offered here. As CJs conducted their work they did so as a direct result of the discourses that had emerged about this new offending category (see chapter three). They conducted their work as part of state institutions –

often bridging the gap between probation and the prison estate (both the symbolic arrangements and their architecture). Just as Foucault (1977) suggested, this work was invested in a series of regulatory decisions, the law and the administrative processes available to them. As this chapter will go on to demonstrate, practices were also underwritten by scientific statements about the mental health of veterans and their risk profiles. What is more, CJs worked according to their own philosophical, moral philanthropic intentions and views of the veteran offender. Lastly, as Foucault proposed, their work was a response to some clearly identifiable urgency – namely the problem of violent veterans as a newly discovered political and public concern within the criminal justice system. As we saw in chapter three, as the violent veteran emerged as a politically loaded subject to be governed, such that the criminal justice system had to quickly respond to this new imperative.

The VSO initiative began in Cheshire Probation Trust in November 2010 to target offenders who had served in the armed forces. The move was a response to on-going political pressures and recognised operational deficiencies that an increasing number of military veterans were under supervision – ‘whose needs and risk were not being fully addressed’ (Cheshire Probation Trust 2013 – document 280). CJs were selected to work for the VSO or volunteered because they belonged to the ‘veteran community’, which meant that either they were veterans themselves, or members of their family had military experience. Their role was to bring their professional skills of working with offenders, and their knowledge of veterans to bear upon this distinct category of offenders who presented on their caseloads. According to a small piece of demographic research conducted in 2010, between 150 and 200 veterans were estimated to be on the regional caseload. This snapshot study was conducted over a six-week period at the induction

stage (VSO Manager 2013) and has not been repeated since. The data generated however was sufficient to mobilise a campaign of veteran awareness and support within the Trust.

The VSO initiative encouraged probation staff from the veteran community to volunteer to be trained. Training took place in a Cheshire Head Quarters with a focus on ‘military awareness’. The Royal British Legion (RBL) supported the training event and upon completion staff were asked to consider representing both the VSO’s and RBL as caseworkers. During the time of the fieldwork, the initiative was said to be ‘fully operational’ across the county. According to the governance model, each veteran who is identified should be assigned to a VSO, and that each Local Delivery Unit (LDU) should have a Probation Officer (PO) for tier 4 cases and a Probation Services Officer (PSO) occupying the VSO role. Probation cases are tiered from tier 1 to 4 based upon offenders risk of harm, likelihood of re-offending and perceived issues of manageability – 1 is low to medium risk and 4 is high to very high risk (Turley *et al* 2011). All participants for this study were tier 3 & 4.

Making sense of a new subjectivity: a criminal justice practitioners perspective

In the previous chapter it was shown how VPs made sense of their new subjectivity. The narratives offered by VPs add another layer to this to explain how veterans were able to accept and reject nuances in that subjectification. At times this meant that VPs divorced their actions for the legal framework that judged their behaviour. In doing so VPs were able to justify their actions, often by attributing blame to the failures of legal frameworks. This alone encourages a critical conversation on the limitations of the legally framed approach. While critically discourses on the violent veteran may account for engagement with the politics of the war, those who work within the legal system cannot bring into question law as a *de facto* given. As a result, the past lives of VPs continues to be an issue

for those charged with their punishment and rehabilitation as do the complexities that arise when the veteran is placed into a criminal justice framework. A critical appreciation of these complexities, notably how and why one is assigned to this category remains under-theorised by the literature or by those charged with policy formation for veterans.

Whilst all offenders are assigned to a particular offending category, the veteran occupies a unique position in relation to their crimes. Upon conviction, for instance all offenders are categorised in accordance to their 'diversity'. Their age, race, religion, gender, religion, disability, sexuality and any mental disorders are identified – or at least in principle that is the case (Gelsthorpe 2006; Gelsthorpe and McIvor 2007). Veterans do not feature on this list, and although their actions within the system are often explained through traumatic frames (see chapter one and three), they do not fit neatly into understandings about the mental health of offenders. Instead, the veteran offender exposes many contradictions and logical discrepancies, as those tasked with governing veterans didn't readily appreciate them as offenders with mental disorders – but veteran offenders. I found that these tensions between past lives and current lives affected CJPs from the point of identification to the ways in which they understood the place of the veteran in the traditional criminal justice framework that did not identify them.

Being a violent veteran: A criminal justice practitioners perspective

The first issue faced by CJP's and the wider VSO initiative was the criteria upon which to identify veterans. That is to ask, how does one meet the requirements for this sort of subjectification? Being a veteran is fraught with complexities. For example, it became apparent from the early stages of the fieldwork that being a veteran and serving a sentence for violence wasn't definitive in the classification of a veteran offender amenable to the initiative. Deciding what it means to be a veteran who was deserving of

veteran support added a layer of complexity to the process. Cheshire Probation Trust used the definition provided by Soldiers, Sailors and Airmen Association (SAFFA), which states that a 'veteran' is any person who has served one day in the armed forces (SAFFA 2013). Although Treadwell (2011) and Howard Burdett *et al* (2012) considered the problem of a definition for veterans in the criminal justice system, CJP's continually voiced their frustration with the term. When asked to explain how they understand veterans once placed in to the criminal justice framework those frustrations were frequently expressed. For CJP10, for instance:

The first problem is what a veteran is. Some of them haven't even been to war or finished basic training – it is ridiculous to give them extra support and spend time working through how the army may have led to their offending.

Sentiments such as this evidence some of the contradictions and challenges in applying a catch all terms "veteran offender". In fact, as I correlated VPs testimonies concerning the great esteem they enjoyed in the eyes of CJPs, with my observational findings from attending meetings, it became apparent that while veterans who had been to war were seen as deserving of a different treatment than other offenders, it was precisely the experience of war that shaped attitudes to the violence of veterans within the system. For CJP 10, those who had not finished training or been to war for that matter should not be offered veteran support. This was of course at odds with the definition. This was also the belief of CJP12:

To be honest with you they are taking advantage of it, some of them didn't even finish basic training, they have never been to war yet they can have this special treatment, it really is very frustrating now.

Official definitions can be at odds with public and professional opinion. Since the SAFFA definition, for example, included those who did not finish basic training, the research found that practitioner resistance to the definition undermined the aims of the initiative as it reinforced a common perception that some veteran offenders were less deserving of dedicated veteran support. It became clear that CJP's had strong feelings that in order to be recognised as a veteran offender an individual must have been deployed to a combat zone. This was often referred to during interviews as veteran offenders taking advantage of what is considered 'special treatment'. For CJP 6 even if an offender fitted the definition of the initiative, they would only speak to veteran issues if they had been deployed to a combat zone:

Well they tell you that they're a veteran or ex-armed forces and then the first thing you do is ask for their number – if they don't know that then they are lying to you but if they do know that then you ask them where they were deployed. If they say they haven't been deployed to a combat zone then I just deal with them as I would a normal offender. There isn't much else you can do really, maybe talk about money and that.

That said, it was also evident that based on CJPs own more subjective definitions (they would frequently say what they felt constituted a deserving offender in this setting), those veteran offenders who had been deployed and faced combat situations should be

approached differently. This was often based on CJPs own attitudes to military (again these were apparent in tone and content of conversations), with those CJPs who were also veterans expressing strongly held views on the subject. For CJP3 in particular, his own traumatic experiences of deployment was integral to the way he approached his practices:

I want to help people who have served for our country. I served for my country and want to support young lads that are continuing to do the same at a really at a very difficult time for the armed forces. The things that you see on tour cannot be explained and you never know how it will affect you. The dreams and smells, god I remember the smells myself and they will. You don't want to admit that but by the time they get to me now it is clear that they have had problems coming back so I want to help with that. And, yeah I suppose they deserve it more than anyone don't they?

Such "deserving" sentiments were not isolated to this interview, but echoed throughout the fieldwork. As a result, it is possible to extrapolate two clear findings from the perspective of the caseworkers 1) some veterans deserve support because they have been to war 2) and that CJP's use their own experience of being a veteran to inform their motivations. We shouldn't underestimate here the importance of this label 'deserving of support'. This 'deserving' only applied to those who have seen combat. The subjectivity of the veteran offender then is subject tied to pre-existing attitudes to military service, regardless of the stipulations of initiatives. The belief that only a combatant should be considered a veteran was common, and it is through the markers of those deserving against those who were undeserving for special treatment that the initiative was

conceptually challenged and internally resisted from the beginning by those tasked to deliver its mandate.

Eligibility for the VSO initiative continued to reveal many subtle procedural and organizational challenges. As a consequence not all those who qualify for the VSO initiative experience it on the same terms. Of the approximated 150-200 VPs identified at the outset, much fewer numbers ended up on CJP caseloads. Nils Christie (1986) introduced the concept of 'ideal victim' to make sense of the hierarchy of victimization – noting how there are fundamental discrepancies in special treatment initiatives within the criminal justice system. This he attributes precisely to issues pertaining to (non)deserving classifications, which we can see in these terms as being the outcome of VSO prejudices. It also resonates with Chris Greer (2004) work on victims, especially the ways hierarchies of opinion influence criminal justice policy and practice. Some veterans were openly considered more deserving of support than others. Added to this are the tensions identified in chapter six about how veterans themselves resist the veteran label.

This study however sought to nuance this “deserving” category by asking questions that were more appreciative of the claim that being a veteran offender not only forced us to account for their violent behaviours post-deployment (which might be explained/excused in terms of exposure to combat), but how bodies are brought to violence in normalizing ways (especially through military training). Just as VPs narrated their experiences of violence in chapters five and six – CJPs were also related veteran's behavior to military training and background. For CJP6 this should be considered when addressing veterans:

We must consider an individual's military training, they have violent skills, a violent trade almost and of course we must take that into consideration.

Perhaps without realising the wider political significance of this in terms of making sense of the continuum of violence, CJP6 is echoing the sentiments of many of the VPs introduced in chapter six, namely how the violence might be seen as different to other forms of criminal violence. The difference here appears not to be about the positive veteran's subjectivity per se, but a matter of training and skills. This was also the opinion of CJP11:

Veterans are dangerous, they are trained to kill and use violence effectually.

What is being suggested here is that the skills learned during military service explored play a crucial part in how the veteran is understood. This again resonates with the testimonies offered in chapter five and the ways in which violence becomes an everyday part of a more legitimate trade. Whilst the violence committed by veterans post-deployment is very different to the 'violent trade' alluded to here - it is understood by both veterans and practitioners tasked with governing the rehabilitation as one in the same. Fundamental questions as such need to be asked about a system of rehabilitation that doesn't seem to address the wider forces and dynamics that legitimate violent behavior?

The subjectification of the violent veteran: An administrative procedure

The complications regarding the political subjectivities of the veteran offender continued to be evidenced in the routine operationalisation of the criminal justice policy within the

prison setting. Recording veterans on systems in itself points to a series of bureaucratic problems. As CJP 13 explained:

If the receptionist forgets to tick the flag then it doesn't get to us and like you have suggested sometimes that information just sits on the computer as it has to be actively sought and printed off. We are working on a new system.

Whilst this comment might be seen as simply indicative of a new system of governance that has a number of practical issues to overcome; it actually points more broadly to how VP's are understood in the process and the aims and objectives of the initiative beyond the political headlines. As my field notes also reflect upon;

Today I attended the LINK meeting for the North-West Correctional Services in prison 3. Some interesting reflections about the needs of VPs but as always this was from the perspective of what the veteran may need in general instead of what the veteran who has committed a crime may need in order to rehabilitate. In the discussion at the end this was recognised by a VICSO and although I was pleased that others also seemed confused by this. A CJP rightly expressed his reservations in the discussion - 'this is all well and good but our experience was years ago and things have changed and these lads are just veterans trying to reintegrate into civvy street they also have their sentence to deal with and us lot and what they have done and we keep forgetting that'. The confusion in the room was evident – the

sentiment that they were veterans first surely evident. This tension may well be causing more problems than they realise.

(Research Diary 11/06/2012)

In terms of the classification, the emphasis on VPs being a 'veteran' before 'offender' posed problems for traditional modes of governance. If VPs were called 'criminal veterans' for instance, we might expect a different approach as a direct result of the emphasis of their identity? This would also raise important questions about the focus of intervention? The non-criminal attributes of the veteran thus pointed to a new category for investigation. Indeed, it seemed that understandings of "diversity" were the only logical way that CJP's could make sense of the initiative and set apart veterans' offenders in practice.

Veterans and Diversity

Gelsthorpe and McIvor (2007: 341) offer meaningful commentary on diversity policies as a means of prescribing how the criminal justice system can best 'do justice to difference'. They argue that criminal justice policy attempts to do justice to difference through diversity policy by acknowledging that race, disability, gender, sexual orientation, age and religious belief are important categories. Post-Treadwell, the 'veteran' appears as another form of symbolic identities for whom the diversity label is being applied. Although the notion of difference is not uncommon in the formulation and enactment of criminal justice policy (Gelsthorpe 2006; Gelsthorpe & McIvor 2007), the data regarding the *differences* posed by the veteran offender points to something that is more fraught than how differences are traditionally understood in the context of offending populations. A gatekeeper expressed this to me during a prison visit in March 2012:

I was just as struck by the VICSO's tour of the prison this morning as I was by the interview. As we walked he exclaimed '*On that wing we have terrorists and over there are sex offenders, armed robbers tend to hang out over there and veterans just round the corner*' I nodded at first and continued to scan the environment as a fear crept upon me. I could hear what he was saying but was also talking to myself out of that fear and preparing for the day ahead. They didn't sound like the sorts of people that would be kind to a nervous young girl these men described so bluntly as 'terrorists and armed robbers'. Then it dawned on me – it wasn't criminal to be a veteran – so what had these young men done? And why weren't they with the young men that had done what they had? I hadn't heard of veterans wings before – could this be what he meant? As the day unfolded I realised that a lot of veterans had been placed together through an informal policy (my emphasis).

Informal policy as found in the prison above render a crisis of identity visible. It also point to the ways in which the daily management and operations within the prison system can sustain that crisis, which in turn transforms it into a crisis of management for criminal justice practice. Criminal justice policy towards veterans as such is the outcome of many formal and informal processes that resulted in the management "occupation types" rather than "offending types" categories of diversity. Within this system, then, perceptions regarding of this new category resulted in a belief that treating veterans differently required more leniency towards their behaviours. CJP2 was clear in this regard:

Do not breach veteran offenders in the way you would breach a normal offender. Veterans should be given up to 6 chances to comply with their order, we have to consider what they have been through

It should be pointed out here that while CJP's were overwhelmingly sympathetic to plight of veteran offenders who had experienced combat during their service, this is challenged by other actors within the criminal justice system – especially those who initially pass sentence as CJP's frequently commented how veteran offenders are often treated more harshly than their civilian counterparts would have been for the same crime:

Really interesting meeting today in Manchester and for the first time the negative impact of the veteran label for veteran offenders was evidenced. Truly is something to think about as to this point the plans and emerging programmes have all been with a sense of having a duty to those who have served for the country. A magistrate said 'We have to consider an individual's military training when sentencing, they have violent skills, a violent trade almost and of course we must take that into consideration.' And, the Judge appeared to support this by stating clearly that; Veterans are dangerous at the end of the day, they are trained to kill and use violence effectively, when that is coupled with their lack of respect to a society outside of the forces their dangerousness is heightened.

These findings are not entirely new for criminology; for instance, we have witnessed these tensions in cases regarding female offenders. In this instance, there have been notable shifts in the way they were treated in theoretical terms such as *chivalry* which

points to leniency in sentencing on account of their gender, or *double deviancy* for cases depending upon perceived severity of the sentence as women ought to know better thus are double charged with the crime (Smart 1977; Heidsohn & Gelsthorpe 2012). This is similar to the findings in chapter 5 as veterans perceive their crimes to be different to others. This results in a particular tension between criminal justice actors, revealing some of the contested internal dynamics of the veteranality framing. It also reveals the limitations of top-down approaches to the study of veteran offenders that would be unable to capture or at least would deemphasise the importance of these tensions as they focused more on the functioning of law and its outcomes alone. Data collected through an interview with CJP 4 highlighted this:

What we are dealing with here are men who have been rewarded for violent behaviour, yet punished for not turning up to work. They have lived under different rules to the rest of us, we must expect crime and when dealing with it be more understanding. I am not saying they should get away with it but I am suggesting a different justice system for ex-armed forces, similar to the system that operates in the military.

In the US exclusive Veteran Treatment Courts have been set up in over 100 locations, which are modelled on a problem-solving approach to justice (Slattery *et al* 2013). Whilst UK has similar courts for Mental Health, Drugs and Domestic Violence – which speak directly to the profile of veteran offenders, the approach adopted towards the veteran impresses an offending type category *within* the system and not separate to it. Nevertheless, as the data has shown in this chapter, from the perspective of CJP's the veteran offender embodies a subjectivity to be as inextricably linked to their experience

of war, and that such experiences are extremely difficult to make sense of in a domestic criminal justice framework. The inevitable response is more cultured forms of leniency and dispensation within a system that is ultimately seen as incapable to properly addressing veteran's needs.

Technologies in practice: the means and the ends when working with veteran offenders

As outlined in chapter one, when dealing with systems of governance there is a need to account for those Technologies of rule which point us to the individuals (in this case CJP's), policies (in this case the VSO policy) and practices which come together in order to shape the conduct of conduct of offenders. Such interventions with offenders are characterised by criminogenic needs (the pathways that are believed to lead to offending within groups). Burnett *et al* (2007) show that such interventions are overwhelmingly goal orientated, especially the reduction in the possibility for reoffending. This requires in the context of the veteran considering the effects of deployment relative to pre-existing risk assessments. While a number of recent studies have suggested the need for such assessments to tailored their risk profiles make sense of the legacy of violent offending by military personnel returning from combat zones (McManus *et al* (2013), at the time of the fieldwork, CJP's relied more upon their knowledge of pathways to offending as guided by the *National Action Plan for Reducing Re-Offending* (Home Office 2004). This key government report provided seven pathways to offending, which although again informed by ideas regarding PTSD, nevertheless removed any suggestion that the legacies of war might be instructive on terms of how the violence might be framed. These included, Accommodation; Education Training and Employment; Mental and Physical Health; Drugs and Alcohol; Finance; Children and Family and Attitudes, Thinking and Behaviour.

I had first-hand observation of the training for the VSO initiative and participated in its delivery. As my research diary noted:

Training complete – I am now a VSO! Well not really I am not an offender manager but I have gone through all of the processes that a VSO would whilst watching them train. We all arrived at HQ in Chester for 10 and had a full day of activities in a workshop style to follow on from last week's training by the Legion (Royal British Legion). This week was more about getting offender managers (CJPs) to reflect on their caseloads and how they might adjust their supervisions with veterans. Around the room were big flipcharts with the seven pathways on – accommodation, education and training, finance, well-being etc... and then participants reflected on what these mean for veterans and from the group discussion informal policy/procedure for VSO's were formed there and then. Fascinating.

(Research Diary 10/01/ 2011)

These conversations that took place during the training focussed on the lack of structure available to veteran offenders upon initial release from the military, especially proactive forms of trauma supports. CJP's continually made reference to this framework when interviewed – especially when asked about the needs of veterans and the goals of the intervention. The overwhelming opinion was that the offences committed by veterans could have been prevented had better support been in place to deal with the traumas of battle. What is more, the responses from CJP's continued to reiterate the prevailing

assumption that veteran offenders have a unique set of experiences and circumstances which accounts for their offences and also increases the risk of re-offending. As CJP11 explained:

Veterans find themselves in trouble as a result of much wider issues than having a past that means they have been violent. Of course this is part of it, they have been required to use violence and let's not forget they have been witness to serious violence – a violence that many of us cannot comprehend but their issues are much wider than that. When they return they, well I should say before they get to us they have often treaded on many of the factors that make anyone vulnerable to offending, erm I mean they often struggle to find jobs afterwards and the family home breaks down, they also use alcohol in excess and have no sense of money as the military have always taken care of financial issues – even down to paying for their haircuts (laughter). These issues often mean that veterans find themselves in precarious life positions, frustrated with life and underwhelmed by the lack of a hero's welcome home. I have found that all of this together is as important to understand them as any attempt to think about their attitudes to violence and responses to the situations that they find themselves in. Does that make sense? I mean of course they have a different relationship to violence than civilians do but so often they explain their violence through frustrated stories about fitting back into the world post service.

Opinions such as these were continuously voiced during the interviews. CJPs often considered the experience of veterans through a complex interplay between perpetrators and victim of the brutalities at war, along with the circumstance of having become institutionalised, hence continuously marginalised from civilian society, culture and the everyday norms a pertinent to acceptable behaviours during peacetime. These experiences, coupled with the psychological and emotional impact of lengthy service in the armed forces, especially emotional scars following deployment to combat environments, were seen to heighten veterans risk of offending. These findings are significant when considering both the means and ends of intervention. If deployment is the root cause of criminality, then shouldn't rehabilitative practices start by taking this into account and not from the point of their offence? This was certainly the opinion of many of the CJPs.

Rehabilitation and War

As a result of the tensions highlighted above, CJPs often found it difficult to answer: what is the point and purpose of policy interventions? Although they were all positive about the fact that a veteran initiative had now come into play – they were admittedly confused about what it should consist of. This became most evident when CJPs were asked about the knowledge that directed their practice. For CJP 7 this presented real challenges:

I am motivated by what is right and these young men have served for their country. Your question about assumptions is an interesting one though and causes many tensions for me. So when we call them veteran offenders we acknowledge their time serving for their country and rightly so but there are problems that arise because of

that. I often ask if we assume that serving their country is the reason they have committed the offence or are we simply identifying that they should be treated differently because they are a veteran? This question matters to me and I don't think we know the answer to that or we certainly haven't spoken about it. My feeling is that both is the answer though as in we identify them because they have served for their country but also think that through deployment and what they have seen they have committed a violent offence and addressing that may take a different approach. Then comes my problem with it all to be honest because as much as I agree they should be treated differently when we start to think about 'veterans' focus on those issues and the ways we usually work with violence alters and I am not sure yet is that is effective to be honest with you either.

Such testimonies are essential in filling in the gaps in knowledge between rehabilitation practices and the working experience of veteran offenders and governors. It also allows for some discussion on policy reforms by those on the front lines of the initiatives. CJP 11 was keen to discuss what a veteran initiative would look like if it gave priority to the offence committed:

... well firstly if you think about it during supervision I would normally be addressing offending but now I find myself either addressing the war or not and if I do that is not an offence and if I don't then am I letting them down as a 'veterans support officer'?

What is being raised here is a fundamental question regarding whether or not the probation service is the place to deal with the aftermath of war? And indeed, it also asked if VSO's are properly trained to a point where they can meaningfully support the veteran on their journey back to that combat zone? The title Veteran Support Officer undoubtedly brings with it an assumption that those practitioners have a different set of skills or indeed purpose's than they do. But what is the purpose of identifying with offenders veteran status? What does it have to do with how their supervision should be managed? Or in a similar vein, should rehabilitation start from war (which attributes their offending to combat) or should the offence be the focal point of supervisions? Each of these questions are essential to the way the veteran is inserted into criminal justice processes and how his past occupation places him into a framework that measures and predicts risk.

Veteranality and Risk

Concerns regarding risk assessment and management are illustrated in the parole process. If the initial assessment is ill informed, future assessments are built on inaccurate templates that have, potentially, failed to accurately identify pertinent risk factors, and thereby failing to address offending behaviour and risk. Equally current interventions available are potentially unsuitable for addressing veterans' needs and risks because of a dearth of consistent empirical evidence (McManus et al 2013). This may result in the parole board rejecting release because the veterans' risk and needs are not being addressed and risk assessments being inconsistent. Again CJP 8 expressed important concerns:

He will stay on weekly reporting for the remainder of his sentence
because of his military past he must be seen as high risk

This reflects a potential for what is termed 'up-tariffing' or being overly cautious in the assessment of risk. This issue has been addressed by Mike Nash & Andy Williams (2010) in relation to the politicisation of high risk. Those assessments are completed by different Offender Managers with different perspectives, who not having a consistent framework when working the veteran offender. So in addition to the established disparities between 'home' and 'seconded probation officers' based in prison, risk assessments may reflect inaccurate concerns and thereby disadvantage veteran's progress through the criminal justice system, potentially seeing them remaining in custody for longer than necessary.

All this points to a much broader systemic failures in the risk assessment of veteran offenders from initial sentencing to probation. This is compounded by the veteran population themselves, who often perceive mental health problems as being associated with weakness and failure, hence feel stigmatised if they disclosed such problems or sought help (James and Woods 2010). This association of weakness or failure to acknowledge suffering as a result of their experiences may also result in self-harm and suicidal tendencies (McGarry and Walklate 2011). This results in the levels of vulnerability being underestimated (McGarry et al, 2014), and in worst cases exacerbated. Consequently the 'risk to self' (Canton 2011) dimension of the risk assessment process increases significantly. What is more evidence based around accredited programmes within the 'What Works' initiatives are generally extracted from working with young white males. There are some concerns as such that accredited programmes not only fail to translate to female offenders and black and minority ethnic communities (Canton, 2011) but also to the 'new diversity group' (Murray 2013) of the veteran. As such, practitioners may be applying offence specific or generic offending

behaviour programmes and one to one work when working with this population, which may or may not be suitable.

Towards a veteran centred justice system

When analysing the data for expressions that focussed upon the desired ends of the initiative (teleology), it was clear that CJP's believed this was to place the veteran at the heart of criminal justice rehabilitative processes. Millar and Rose (2008: 29) propose that a governmental approach needs to assess policies mindful of the fact that they developed 'reform realities'. Criminal justice policies are also always caught between a tension to protect the public and prevent re-offending (MoJ 2010). For CJP's there was something else at work that centred on the difference of veteran offenders, which meant that in practice CJP's aimed to support veterans from the position that they had served for their country. For CJP 8 this meant tailoring provision according to knowledge of military experience:

I believe as I would like to think we all do that our objective is to provide care and support to former armed forces personnel with an aim that they resettle post sentence more successfully than they have til now. There are so many charities around, too many actually although I am not sure I allowed to say that. I see us as different for a few reasons but the most obvious is that if they have got to us then they are in trouble and perhaps need support now more than ever. So often it is only once they face a criminal sentence that they realise that they need the help that they would have been too proud to seek prior. The military culture is much harder to shed than the military uniform and seeking help is considered a weakness. If we think of

how vulnerable their lives have become they often wouldn't even consider taking actions that mean they are weak – that to them would make it all worse. Often someone believing in them again and awakening their sense of pride is just the first step and then they help themselves. These are proud and skilled men that have lost their way and showing them a clear roadmap to somewhere to live and job is as important as addressing their offending that results from frustrations with not having these things. This is the sense I get repeatedly from the lads and I guess I remember feeling it myself. So to answer your question I think that the first thing we must aim for above all else is to address those barriers and make it OK for the lads to seek help.

Here we are given a unique insight into the teleological ends that drive these programmes. That is to address the veteran culture that prevents them from seeking help in society. As was evidenced in the previous chapter, VP's did find accessing support prior to sentence difficult. What is also clear that CJP's appear to consider broader factors of accommodation, education and suitable employment key to a successful rehabilitation for VPs. Responses from CJPs then appear to reflect the feelings of VPs that employment and accommodation are vital to their successful rehabilitation 'on civvy street'. Once more we see a tension as to the desired ends of the VSO project are different from other offender as the veteran offender in practice continues to assume a military identity.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the data obtained by CJPs in order to give voice to those implementing the governance of violent veterans. In doing so, it has highlighted some of

key perceptions regarding the ways that veteran offenders are understood by their governors. It has been also demonstrated that since the veteran still embodies their military past within the system, the veteran identity continually points to a series of tensions that problematises criminal justice processes. In this regard, the idea that the 'veteran' should be is considered a different type of offender is not simply an academic proposition; it responds to the attitudes of those tasked with their daily governance. The veteranality framework allows us to makes sense of these issues by raising questions regarding for justice and rehabilitation by account for the politics of war and its enduring traumas. Central here are issues regarding offending type – as *what they have done* is overwhelmed by their military past such that 'veteran offenders' and criminal justice is asked to manage an occupation type rather than the offending type, even though the occupation only becomes significant at the point for their entry into the criminal justice system. Articulating and managing this balance is a challenge for the future.

The veteran undoubtedly occupies a complex position in the public's imagination. This is notably pronounced when the "war hero" is contrasted with the former soldier who engages in violence and criminality during peacetime. This inherent tension is further realised by both VPs and CJP's narratives which both express similar frustrations and sentiments about the veteran and how he should be perceived. Amid this tension between the stigmatic identify of being an offender and the traditional celebration of the veteran identity alone, it is clear that the need to understand the life of veterans has never been more pressing. As the British veteran identity continues to renegotiate its place in a society that more frequently contests it – it is a site of contradiction, upon which contradiction interventions have formed. The next chapter brings together the data presented across all three of the findings chapters and provides a conclusion to this

project which shows how the personal experiences of both VPs and CJs shed new light on both war and governance.

Conclusion: Re-imagining the veteran

This thesis began with the concern that the problem of the violent veteran post-deployment was yet to be addressed from the perspective of what this political subjectivity means for our understanding of their governance in the criminal justice system. I had been compelled to understand their crimes, and how criminological understandings of war could address this violence as an extension of the war itself. While knowledge about veteran offenders demanded more critical approaches, I was mindful of the need to conduct a rigorous scientific investigation in order to add to the literature on war post 9/11 by giving specific voice to veterans and their governors. In particular I was keen to investigate whether the veteran's violence represented more than a problem of criminality and mental health and what this meant in terms of their rehabilitation. Central to this was an attempt to evaluate the importance of those understandings of war that were no longer wedded to fixed epistemologies that proposed an inside and an outside to the security terrain, to look more broadly at the subjective stakes to continuums of violence in the 21st Century. This was a narrative that was yet to be heard.

I began with a series of aims to connect the offences of veterans post war to the criminology of war literature and on occasion I considered IR important to my understanding of war. Perhaps more importantly, the thesis set out to understand the experiences of those who had assumed a veteran offender status, along with the ways in which those who were asked to take charge of that process understood their role. In order to achieve this I drew on the work of Foucault to suggest an analytical framework that I have elected to term 'veteranality'. I hope to have demonstrated that veteranality is

able to address the multiple relations of power into which violent veterans are embedded, along with providing a critical framework through which a positive re-imagining of the veteran becomes possible. By exposing the limitations of the discourse that has come to know the violent veteran, I have argued for the need to start addressing this particular category of violent offenders through an in-depth qualitative analysis that is concerned with both the legal questions regarding the crime, onto the social and the political frames at work.

Chapter one identified a number of gaps in knowledge in contemporary thinking about the problem of the violent veteran. Mindful of these gaps, the thesis set out to develop a more critically astute narrative that connected understandings of war in criminology and international relations to policy understandings of the veteran offender by foregrounding political subjectivities. This was argued to be a necessary academic development that allowed us to open up new discussions regarding the violence of veterans in a more interdisciplinary ways. Having then introduced the framework of veteranality, the thesis highlighted the importance of understating power in this governmental frame by taking into account the multiple actors. In particular, it emphasised the need to bring together the voices and experiences of VPs and CJP's in order to highlight the importance of military identities. This provided a new angle of vision on the tensions and challenges within the criminal justice system when dealing with this category of offender.

Chapter two moved the debate on to situate the violent veteran into an emerging field in criminology as a way to address more rigorously current academic debates. The chapter addressed two pivotal discussions regarding how criminology has historically problematized war; onto what has it had to say about the veteran today? The chapter began by tracing the (re)emergence of war as a subject of criminological study. This

literature review was important as it framed the violence of veterans in times of peace as an extension of the war. Of significance here was to engage with the theoretical debates concerning the changing contours of war, and what this meant specifically for the continuum of violence as evidenced by veteran offenders. The thesis was especially interested in exploring the significance of changing attitudes and empirical realities to ideas pertaining to the inside/outside of security discourse and understandings, questioning in particular what this meant for domestic regimes of security governance. In doing so, the chapter added to the academic discussions about war in criminology and mapped out new areas for criminological scholarship, while at the same time showing the contemporary limits in our understandings of veterans' that need to be addressed.

Chapter two was less concerned with seeing veterans as an "object" to be studied at a distance, than to prose engaging with them as political subjects with a sense of agency. It made the case for listening directly to the voices of those individuals implicated in the processes, such that we might understandings better their position in society. Prior to this research, the voice of veteran offenders was altogether absent from the debates. It was argued however that this need to give voice to violent veterans was not antithetical to criminological analysis. On the contrary, it bridges the gap between empirical and theoretical in ways that appreciates the integrities of both as complimentary and academically reinforcing fields.

Chapter three outlined the significance of developing earlier works on governmentality to allow for a reframing and more purposeful interrogating of the veteran offender post-deployment. Having set out the way in which veteran offenders are known through various forms of statistical design, often framed through the language of PTSD, it followed an alternative analytic of power to address the regulation of problem populations more

mindful of the political stakes. Thus critically evaluating the dominant discourses that underwrite the governance of the violent veteran by placing those narratives into the framework of veteranality that specifically foregrounded the veterans themselves as a site for original research. The chapter offered an original rethinking of Foucault's governmentality thesis to interrogate the processes through which veterans are governed. Veteranality in short offers a development of and departure from governmental literatures by addressing a unique category of offender to consider analytical specificity, onto ontological, epistemological and imagined particularities.

Of significance to this chapter was the need to move beyond reductionist understandings of architectures of power, to address the complex ways in which knowledge about veterans are formed and the multiple claims made upon their bodies. In doing so, the veteranality framework makes sense of the problem of veterans by addressing the key stages in the governmental process. This is achieved by identifying those "voices" that speak with authority on their behalf. Having then specifically dealt the ways in which veteranality allows us to take into account the multiple actors involved within security regimes, the chapter argues why the need to give voice to veteran offenders offers a significant departure. The chapter concludes by showing how veteranality provides a criminological alternative to the understandings of veterans as a governmental problem.

Chapter four detailed the specific methodological techniques used in terms of both giving voice to veterans and their governors, along with the challenges faced by a female researcher engaging with violent men in a prison setting. It outlines the rationale and process as it applied to the fieldwork study. Again working within the veteranality framework for analytical enquiry, the chapter provides a detailed explanation of the conduct of the research enquiry, focusing in particular on empirical processes that have

made this research possible. The chapter provided a considered overview in terms of the protocols and ethical standards, which needed to be met, along with the ways in which I needed to undertake a number of professional courses that were essential to carrying out the research effectively.

Chapter four also provides new thinking on methodological challenges with valuable insight provided from my experiences. Aside from James Treadwell (2010), this is one of the first projects to speak with violent veteran offenders. Thus not only does the chapter map out the complex ways in which veteran populations are to be engaged with in ways that attempt to do ethical justice to the subject, it also highlights the importance of qualitative approaches. Particularly the importance of foregrounding the voice of veterans by taking into account inter-subjective relations. This especially includes what a female academic researcher brings both to the discussion, along with the ways in which the researcher themselves can become part of the governmental process. My gender elicited a different type of narrative than those obtained by men, and although this has brought with it a set of challenges, the emotion and tone of the narratives offer a unique entry into the discourse of veteran offenders.

Chapter five explored the lives of participants before their conviction. The first of three empirical chapters, it questioned participants' childhoods and the reasons they give for joining the military, along with their experiences during service. As Veteran participants (VPs) were encouraged to speak about their life before the military, along with their life in the military, they provided a basis from which to understand the complexities of the research problem. Through their narratives the implications for reimagining the violent veteran in the criminal justice system are made clear. In particular, the testimonies gathered through the research evidences the importance of my concern with the soldier's

biographical histories to take seriously questions of agency. In doing so the chapter provided new insight into the offenders by foregrounding more explicitly their complex life stories and political subjectivities.

The chapter presented the original findings by highlighting a number of periodisation's. Through these it was shown how the experience of violence was consistent throughout many of their lives and how the subsequent processes of training bodies which can be brought to violence presented challenges that needed to be discussed. To begin questions about embodiment, mobilisation and the fundamental tensions conditions of violence produce were brought to the fore. Having then dealt directly to the ways in which violence continued post-deployment, which nevertheless continued to draw upon war metaphors, the chapter offered critical insight into the relationships between violence and the body – especially the violence that is committed upon bodies as a way of inscribing political subjectivities. Not only did the evidence animate a series of transformative processes wherein the complexities of military training and experiences in theatres of war are brought back home. It also revealed subjugated knowledge about the experience of the violent veteran, including the shift towards more precarious and vulnerable accounts of the self.

Chapter six contributed directly to issues regarding the self-perception of veteran offenders post-sentence. Exploring the testimonies offered that narrated the journey from national defender to national offender, it makes the case why criminological thinking must move away from the temptation of only quantifying the complexities of the experiences of violent veterans in time framed marked by prison sentencing. The empirical data presented in this chapter continued to explore the VPs biographical histories, and how their subjectivities were renegotiated post-conviction. Again this was

undertaken in a way to address the ways VPs made sense of this process. Beginning with the narratives offered by VPs that made sense of their new subjectivity as they are now considered a veteran offender, it was shown how their veteran status is seen to set them apart from other criminals, while their criminal status sets them apart from other veterans. The chapter developed to critically evaluate the veteran's sense of self as their image of what it meant to be somebody was put into question. It showed how VPs still relied upon claims to the military body and mind in order to cope within a prison setting.

The chapter also attended to the ways in which the violent veteran is always marked with virtual inscriptions that continue to set them apart within the complex political, legal, and social relations of the criminal justice system. Building on from this, the thesis then dealt with another original finding that is altogether absent from political, policy and public debates; namely how war is brought home into the prison. Whilst this was shown to be important as it further validates the claim regarding the collapse of the inside/outside in respect to theatres of war, it also raised important yet unanswered questions as to the best ways to manage VPs in this politically fraught and conflicting setting. The chapter concluded by analysing the data offered by VPs at the end of their interviews, which address their life plans after their sentence. It highlighted the complexities of reintegration and the challenges for re-entry into civilian life post military service.

Lastly, chapter seven addressed the data obtained from Criminal Justice Practitioners (CJPs) and my field notes that were obtained while working in the system, to consider how the criminal justice system has come to terms with this new offending population. Specific attention was drawn to a number of key perceptions regarding the ways governors understand veteran offenders - especially the differences to be established within veteran communities concerning those who are deemed worthy of specialist care

and treatments. Since the veteran was still seen to embody their military past within the system, it was demonstrated how they continually pose a series of challenges to criminal justice processes as they exceed its categories. In this regard, it was argued that seeing the 'veteran' as a different type of offender is not simply a policy demand or academic proposition; it responds to the attitudes of those tasked with their daily governance.

Once again it was argued here that the veteranality framework allowed us to make sense of these issues by raising questions regarding both justice and rehabilitation by accounting for the politics of war and its enduring traumas. Central here were tensions regarding offending type on account of their previous military status, even though that occupation only became significant at the point of entry into the criminal justice system. As both VPs and CJP's narratives expressed similar frustrations and sentiments about the perception of veterans, it became clear that the need to reimagine the veterans has never been more pressing. Showing how the British veteran identity continued to renegotiate its place in a society that more frequently contested it, it was only by listening to the personal experiences of both VPs and CJP's that the thesis was able to shed new light on the governance of violent veterans. This provided new empirical weight to the need to rethink the ways violence and war are understood in the world today.

So where does this leave us today? Through this research I have also sought to give voice to veterans. This is a necessary first step in the need to "Reimagine the Veteran", with the hope that their plight can be better understood, ultimately of course in the hope that the continuum of violence can be broken. As practitioners have now been encouraged to develop a national policy for working with veteran offenders, initiatives will continue to develop from the grassroots, and be administered by those who have a keen interest in

veterans. Many frustrations undoubtedly remain with current policy provision, and the impact of privatisation is yet to be fully understood. Having said this, there are many insightful conversations about veterans who offend starting to take place, especially between academics and practitioners, and as a result the possibilities for developing meaningful initiatives for managing them in community are improving. Indeed, the shortcomings discussed here should not be inflated to the point where nothing is done. On the contrary, as Foucault might say, in terms of improving the dignity of people, the dignity of veterans, there is always more to be done! Hopefully this thesis provides a modest contribution to that debate, not to end the discussion, rather to start it anew.

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Appendix 1: The Author

Emma Murray is a senior lecturer in criminal justice at Liverpool John Moores University. It was at Liverpool John Moores that Emma began her journey of higher education in 2006, and she was awarded a BA (hons) in Criminal Justice (with first class) in 2009. That year she embarked up her Master's degree and was awarded an MA in Criminal Justice in 2010. Emma's studies then moved to Keele University in October of that year after obtaining a studentship for doctoral study in criminology. During her time as a doctoral student at Keele University, Emma has gathered extensive experience of working with veteran offenders, acting as an advisor for veteran affairs on a series of criminal justice developments in the North-West of England. In 2012 Cheshire Probation Trust awarded Emma a certificate of appreciation in acknowledgement of this work.